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MIRABEAU'S LETTERS,

DURING

HIS RESIDENCE IN ENGLAND;

WITH

Anecdotes, Maxims, &c.

255

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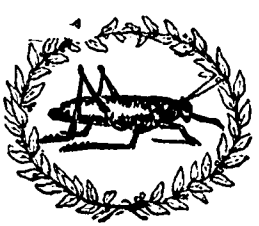
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AN INTRODUCTORY NOTICE

ON THE

LIFE, WRITINGS, CONDUCT, AND CHARACTER,

OF THE AUTHOR.



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London.

GRESLEY was present at the trial of Lord Byron for killing Mr. Chaworth in a duel. He says, the trial of an English peer is the most august act of criminal justice.

Westminster Hall, where the trial took place, is a spacious saloon, longer than the

great hall of the Palais in Paris—apparently longer than it really is; and it is not divided, like that, into two walks. It is all wainscoted; the wainscot exhibiting the boldness and lightness of ancient Gothic structures.

Lord Byron, in consequence of the Coroner's inquest, by which he had been declared guilty of murder, was summoned by the King to make his appearance, that he might be tried by his peers.

The House of Lords gave orders that all the absent peers should be cited to assist at the trial; that the Royal Family should be invited; that the Lord Chamberlain should cause Westminster Hall to be fitted up in the usual manner; and that the King should be requested to fix the 16th of April for the opening of the Court, and to name a Lord High Steward to superintend the trial.

In consequence of this resolution, the nobleman accused was put under arrest by

the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod, and sent prisoner to the Tower of London. Witnesses were cited, and all the peers summoned to attend.

This tribunal filled the whole extent of Westminster Hall. The lower part was occupied by two spacious boxes, intended for the royal family and foreign ministers. In the front of these boxes stood the King's throne, with a canopy over it. Two thirds of the Hall were occupied, on both sides, by an amphitheatre arranged in six rows. In the area of that amphitheatre the Lord High Steward was seated, at the foot of the throne, as were also the Lords, Spiritual and Temporal. The part of the Hall which faced the throne, somewhat raised, and separated by a bar from the peers' enclosure, was the place where the accused lord was to make his appearance. One portion of this platform was assigned to the Attorney and Solicitor-General, who were to manage

the prosecution; another, to the family of the accused nobleman, and his own counsel. Farther within the bar, the clerk sat at a table, with all the papers relative to the process.

The hall, the throne, the benches, the bar itself, and all the parts of the pompous decoration, were covered with crimson cloth. The expence of this decoration was estimated at five thousand pounds. The Lord Chamberlain, with whom the direction rested, distributed amongst the public four thousand tickets of admission. Each of these tickets was of three different colours, to denote the three different sittings there, which the trial was to occupy.

The Court was opened on the 16th of April,* at seven o'clock in the morning. It would be difficult to conceive a more brilliant assemblage. It contained all the principal

* 13th of February, 1765. *Vide* DEBRETTS' *Peerage*, vol. i. page 359. Edition, 1825.—EDITOR.

ladies of quality in the three kingdoms, many of whom had come to London expressly for the purpose of being present on this important occasion. The ladies had taken care to forget neither their attire nor their jewels.

It was in this hall, and in the midst of such a concourse of spectators, that the trial of the unfortunate Charles the First was opened on the 20th of January, 1649. Contemporary historians inform us, that, the king being brought thither, the clerk of the court read the bill of indictment, laid against that prince in the name of the people of England; when Lady Fairfax, wife to the general of the parliamentary troops, rose up and interrupted the clerk, crying out with a loud voice, and great warmth—"They are liars—the tenth part of the people of England is not concerned in this parricide—'tis the work of the traitor, Cromwell, yonder!"

Cromwell bore this violent reproach without betraying the least emotion, and the proceedings of the Court went on.

At the trial of Lord Byron, the amphitheatre having been filled without the least confusion, the peers, who had assembled in their house, entered the hall, to the number of about two hundred and fifty. They walked two and two, dressed uniformly in long red robes faced with ermine. This procession was terminated by the King's two brothers, the Judge, and the Lord High Steward, who held in his hand a long white rod. The Lord Chamberlain, with a rod of the same description, but somewhat shorter, performed the office of master of the ceremonies.

On entering the Court to take their places, as well as on their return to the house, each nobleman, in passing the throne, stopped, bowed, and saluted his Majesty, supposed to be there, though not actually present. The uniformity of dress in these noblemen did not extend to the head. Some of them wore their hair round, others long, some in bags, others simply tied behind. There was as

little uniformity in their hats, which were of all shapes and sizes.

The Court being assembled, the prisoner, who had come from the Tower in his equipage, appeared at the bar. He was dressed in deep mourning, and preceded by the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod, with a Serjeant at Arms on each side, holding an axe with the edge turned from him, and followed by a company of men with battle-axes. Lord Byron fell upon his knees before the Court, and shed tears. When the Lord High Steward had laid before the prisoner the substance of the charge, the latter rose and continued standing during the whole trial. He had by his side, for his counsel, Mr. Yorke. They commenced with reading all the proceedings of the coroner, calculated to ascertain the facts by a jury. The witnesses, who had before been heard, were afterwards confronted with the accused, who started against most of them exceptions, which the Court admitted or rejected immediately.

The depositions of these witnesses, being admitted, were then read. The person who read them made a pause at each phrase. The accused answered verbally, and questioned the witnesses. Notes were taken of all that was said, by the Clerk of the Crown, and also of the questions asked by some of the peers. Witnesses, produced by the accused to speak to those facts which tended to his justification, were then heard. The Attorney General did, with respect to them, what the accused had done with the witnesses against him: the peers also put questions to them.

Such was our ancient jurisprudence, in the method of laying the facts tending to the justification of the prisoner before a Court. The judgment which directed the re-examination and confrontation, ordained also that the person accused might have witnesses on his side. By the ordinance of Cremieu, the Lord Chancellor Duprat inverted this order, which appeared to him to be too

favourable to the accused, or which perhaps laid him under a restraint in some particular case. This innovation, confirmed by the ordinance of Villers-Cotterets, has regulated the arrangements of the ordinance of 1670 upon this subject, without any intervention or observation of the magistrates, to the examination of whom this ordinance was submitted before its publication.

The first sitting at the trial of Lord Byron, having lasted till six o'clock in the evening, the Lord High Steward put an end to it by adjourning the Court to the day following; and the accused nobleman, constantly attended by the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod, was reconducted to the Tower in his coach.

On the next day, the Court being opened with the same concourse of spectators, the prisoner was again brought to the bar, surrounded by the same retinue which had accompanied him the day before; and two

new witnesses were heard. One of these witnesses was the attorney that made the will of Mr Chaworth, whose death had given occasion to the trial. He deposed, that he had heard the dying man say, that Lord Byron had killed him. The accused having replied to this deposition, some of the lords arose, and requested to know in what tone that declaration had been made by the dying man; whether it might reasonably give room to a suspicion, that the deceased meant that his adversary had used any foul play,—in a word, that the witness should declare what judgment he had put upon the meaning of that declaration. Other lords, on the contrary, were of opinion, that the deposition of each witness should be received as he delivered it, and taken in the sense which it seemed immediately to offer; that, in this particular case, the judgment of the witness, concerning the intention of the dying man, had no tendency, either to prove the guilt of the prisoner, or to clear him.

Upon this debate, the peers, in order to discuss the matter more fully, quitted their seats, repaired to their House, and the prisoner retired. After a time, they returned; having come to a resolution, that the deposition of the notary should be received as he had given it; and that resolution decided the point. The accused then applied for and obtained leave to cause a memorial to be read in his defence.

The custom is, to make a defence *vivâ voce;* but the weakness of his voice seemed to authorise his request. The memorial was of great length. The reading of it was followed by a speech, delivered by the Lord High Steward, who, in recapitulating the articles of the accusation, and comparing the proofs resulting from the depositions of the witnesses on the side of the crown, or of the prisoner, either to prove the guilt of the latter, or to clear him, showed the peers the point upon which the cause turned, and placed it in a light favourable to the prisoner.

The Attorney General having been heard, the peers returned to their House, where the Lords Spiritual—the Archbishop of Canterbury speaking for his brethren—declared that they declined taking any further cognizance of the affair; and that they chose to retire; at the same time intimating, that their retreat should not be considered as any way prejudicing the cause of the accused person.

The peers having re-entered, the Lord High Steward successively put the question to each of them, whether the prisoner at the bar were guilty, or not guilty. To which they unanimously answered, placing their hands upon their breasts—"*Guilty of man-slaughter.*" *

This done, the prisoner, on being brought back to the bar, pleaded the privilege granted, in cases of man-slaughter, to peers of the

* Of the 123 Peers present, 119 voted him *guilty*, the remaining 4 *not guilty*.—*Vide* DEBRETT, as before.—ED.

realm, by a law of Edward the Sixth. By virtue of this law, he was set at liberty, no sentence being pronounced against him. His coach took him back to his own house; and on the twenty-fifth of the same month, five days after the trial, he was among the other peers in the House of Lords, when they were debating on the Regency Bill.

The Lord High Steward dismissed the Court or Tribunal over which he presided, by breaking his white wand, and quitting his office.

LETTER LVII.

Origin and Dogmas of Methodism—Whitfield, its Founder—The Tabernacle, and Tottenham-court-road Chapel—Freethinkers—Bossuet's Opinion respecting the Division of Religion into many Sects—Atheism and Fanaticism—Atheists and Fanatics are Men of Blood—Charles I., and the President, Bradshaw—Sanctity of the Regicides—Theists and Deists—Grandeur of the Romans, of the English, and of the Dutch, derived from the Spirit of Toleration—Consequences of Freethinking less Dangerous than those of Hypocrisy—Deists in the Church of England—Socinians amongst the Clergy, and amongst the Puritans—The Cardinal Duperron, on Arianism and Socinianism in England—Luther and Calvin, Arius and Mahomet—Probability of the Renunciation of Christianity by the Northern Nations—Arminianism—Socinians, Deists, &c. in the full Enjoyment of Liberty—Difference between Past and Present Times—Jews—Opinion of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews respecting those of Germany and Holland—Arabian Caliphs—Settlement and Increase of the Jews in Spain and Portugal—Chief Spanish and Portuguese Families, of

Jewish Extraction—Compromise of the Jews with the Inquisition—Immigration of Jews to England, from Spain and Portugal—Naturalization in 1752 *—Opinions of the Jews respecting the Messiah, &c. —Psalmody of the English Synagogue, that which was carried by the Jews to Babylon—Ancient State of the Jews in England—Jewish Wealth and Respectability.*

London.

THE origin of methodism is very recent, and its founder, named Whitfield, has not been dead more than twenty years.* In its infancy, this establishment sustained the utmost persecution that could have been apprehended in a country as much disposed to persecution as England is the reverse. It was not indeed formed in a covert way, or in obscurity. Whitfield had chosen some public situations, in and about London, for the scene of his preaching; the aim of which was the reformation of manners, and the restoration

* Whitfield died in the year 1774.—ED.

of the dogma of grace, enervated and disfigured by Arianism, which, he maintained, had imperceptibly crept into the church of England.

The ministers of the established religion, it is said, did their utmost to baffle the new preacher: he was represented as a visionary, a fanatic, &c.; but he persevered, notwithstanding, and made proselytes. The number of these, and the constancy of their chief, dazzled the eyes of the populace; and Whitfield at last succeeded so far, as to preach, undisturbed, in Moorfields, a large open space near the city, the extent of which was hardly more than sufficient to hold the prodigious concourse of hearers who crowded to his sermons. Having drawn to himself associates, he formed a church, in which was to be found all the fervour that characterizes new sects. The members of this church caused a place of worship to be erected, under the name of the Tabernacle, in the

neighbourhood of Moorfields, where the society had taken birth; and another in Tottenham-court-road.* Its liturgy is that of the church of England, interlarded with certain hymns, many of them by Whitfield himself, who was also poet-ecclesiastic.

The methodist church consists almost entirely of tradesmen, and people of the lower

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* The lease of the ground occupied by this spacious place of worship expired some years since; and the terms demanded for its renewal were so exorbitant that they could not be met. In consequence, it was expected that the building would be rased, and its site occupied by dwelling-houses. Failing, however, to meet with purchasers, the landholders at length entered into a new agreement with the former lessees, or their representatives; the chapel was thoroughly repaired, much enlarged, newly fitted up, and beautified; and, in the spring of the present year (1832), it was re-opened, with much form and ceremony. All the old funereal monuments were preserved. On the north side of the approach to the body of the chapel, not far from the eastern entrance, is a mural tablet to the memory of the Rev. George Whitfield, the founder; and, near it, another, to the memory of his wife.—EDITOR.

order. The preacher wears a clergyman's gown, black gloves, and a white handkerchief; and, during the sermon, he sighs and groans with all the air and tone of a fanatic. The discourse of the man I heard was frequently interrupted by exclamations of "Oh! Oh!" which were repeated every instant. Hell is the favorite topic of these preachers, whose religious ardour contributes not a little to people Bedlam, which is in the immediate vicinity of one of their conventicles. They insist more particularly on the doctrinal point of spirit and faith, which, according to them, is alone sufficient to justification and eternal salvation.

Contiguous to the Tabernacle, is a cemetery, in which the dead have epitaphs, in the ancient taste—that is, as simple as possible.

I know not whether those people, called Freethinkers, are upon the increase in this country; but I am inclined to believe that

there are more belonging to this class than is generally supposed. They do not openly propagate their opinions, because catholics, protestants, puritans, methodists, all make one common cause against them. But in this country, where religion is divided into so many sects, what Bossuet says, must come to pass—"The minds of men, thrown into a violent agitation, and falling from one precipice to another, have split into a multiplicity of sects, in the midst of which, many persons, wearied out with such a throng of absurd chimeras, and no longer able to discover any majesty in a religion thus torn to pieces, seek for rest in a perfect indifference to all persuasions."

As for absolute Atheists, if ever there were any such, we must look for them amongst the Mahomets, the Hildebrands, the Guises, the Cromwells, and amongst other men of all ages and countries, who, making a jest of God, and of the notion of the deity imprinted

upon the hearts of men, have abused it, in order to raise their fortune, and lay the foundation of a greatness generally cemented with the blood of their fellow creatures.

The names of God, religion, conscience, church, and public good, occasioned all the success of the most atrocious attempts of those men of blood. In the very moment when sentence of death was about to be pronounced against Charles the First, when the commissioners refused to hear him, the monarch told them, "that he wished they had God before their eyes." "Yes, Sir!" answered Bradshaw, President of the High Commission, and Cromwell's chief tool; "Yes, Sir, we have before our eyes God, the King of Kings and Lord of Lords; God, who excepts no man's person; God, the avenger of innocent blood; God, who pours down his curses upon those who spare the blood of criminals whom he has condemned: yes, Sir! God and our consciences call us to

this place, and to this august function; and it remains only for us to wish, as we do with all our hearts, that God will give you perfect contrition and repentance of your sins, and that he would be pleased to show his mercy at least to the best part of you; for with regard to the other part, Sir, we find ourselves under the necessity of doing as the law directs."

These commissioners passed the Sunday after their first sitting in fasting and prayer, and hearing a sermon in the chapel of Whitehall, from nine in the morning till four in the afternoon; and they spent in the same devout exercises, the whole of the Sunday which preceded the pronouncing of judgment.

The Freethinkers, or, as the Sorbonne classes them, Theists and Deists, have given a new extent to the spirit of toleration, to which the political atheist is a declared enemy.

This spirit, which was the chief foundation of the grandeur of the Romans, is at present the source of that of Holland and England. From these two countries arose its first apostles. To this spirit the Roman Catholics are indebted for the peace and quietness they enjoy under both these governments. Indeed, every Roman Catholic, English or Dutch, regarding his countrymen, who are out of the pale of the church, as damned, should wish them rather to damn themselves as Freethinkers, without joining any persecuting sect, than as untolerating sectaries. It may with truth be observed, that freethinking is, in a free state, an asylum open to those who, in other countries, are obliged to have recourse to the mask of hypocrisy. And, with regard to public morals, the consequences of this freethinking are less dangerous than those of hypocrisy.

They who, in England, are supported by the wealth of the church, not having it

decently in their power to be Deists, in an absolute sense, are so in certain respects. Socinus has a great many followers, both amongst the clergy of the Church of England and the Puritans. Cardinal Duperron used to say—"In England, they were very much embarrassed to convince an Arian of his errors by passages out of scripture. He put them all to a nonplus, and they could not succeed in converting him, so they ordered him to be burnt alive. We cannot," adds the Cardinal, "confute an Arian by scripture; that is to be done only by the authority of the church."—"Calvinism," said the same Cardinal," will at last degenerate into Mahometanism. From Luther came Calvin; and from Calvin, the new Arians, who endeavour to reconcile Christianity with Mahometanism; and it is much to be feared, that, one day, the northern countries of Poland, Sweden, Denmark, &c., will renounce the Christian religion."

Cardinal Duperron went too far, if he understood any thing more by Mahometanism, than a religion in which Christ should be looked upon only in the same light as Mahomet is at present by the Mussulmans. He likewise forgot, or neglected to reckon Arminianism amongst the steps which have led to Socinianism. Arminius, reducing the necessity of a mediator, by weakening original sin, has opened to the protestants the road traced out by Molina to Harduin, to Berruyer, &c.

The Socinians, the Deists, &c., enjoy every sort of liberty in London; that of the press not excepted. The case was very different at the commencement of the last century. James the First forbade, under the severest penalties, the importation of Vanini's works; and the clergy, entering into the views of the sovereign, composed a prayer of the Liturgy, of which it still forms a part: they pray to God to pre-

serve England from the infection of irreligion.

The Jews consider the Deists and Socinians, as men who make an approach to the kingdom of Heaven, only as they advance towards the exclusive adoration of the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.

The members of that opulent nation reside principally in the eastern part of London.

It is a somewhat extraordinary circumstance, that the Spanish and Portuguese Israelites consider their German and Dutch brethren as vile remains of the tribe of Benjamin. With regard to themselves, they affirm that they are descended from the tribes which Nebuchadnezzar had transplanted to the banks of the Euphrates. The Arabian Caliphs, becoming masters of Asia, extended their conquest, by degrees, to Spain, where several Jewish families came to establish houses of commerce; and where they multiplied to such a degree, that, if we may

believe them, all the families, both in Spain and Portugal, most distinguished for noble birth or opulence, are of Jewish extraction. The Spanish and Portuguese Christians warmly defend themselves from this imputation. They prefer, contrary to all probability, representing themselves as descended from Visigoth or Arian soldiers. Strange enough, for the Jewish race, being the most ancient, is consequently the noblest, in the world.

These Jewish families, after the establishment of the Inquisition, found means to compromise matters with that body. For money, and external conformity to the Christian religion, the inquisitors winked at them: they gave vent to their rage only against such fanatics as were obstinately determined to get themselves burnt. Tired of such a state of constraint, disgusted with the contempt which accompanied it, and allured by the tolerating spirit of the English, the

Spanish and Portuguese Jews crossed the seas in great numbers, with immense wealth. From 1720 to 1740, the number exceeded twenty thousand.

The great consideration in which they were held induced them to claim naturalization in a body. This they obtained in 1753; but, in the year following, the bill in their favour was repealed. The business had been in agitation ever since the year 1715. The Jews say, "that light increases amongst us imperceptibly, and we no longer confound Moses with Ezekias and Esdras; we owe to God adoration, gratitude, and confidence, and love we owe to our neighbour. The time will come when all nations shall join in these sentiments."—If asked—"Why, then, do you continue to make a separate body? Why do you not embrace the established religion?"—"It is unnecessary for us," they reply, "to go to those who are rapidly advancing towards us, and who will

soon overtake us; besides, in such a change, every individual exposes himself to the contempt both of those who profess the religion he forsakes, and of the followers of that which he embraces."

"But what do you think with regard to the Messiah; do you still wait for his coming? and, upon his arrival, will all the Jews quit England, their houses, their commerce, their wives and children, to go over to Syria and join him?"—"They will wait till the report of his coming is *confirmed;* till then, people of sense will let those who have nothing to lose run after him, as fast as they think proper."

The psalmody of the English synagogue surprises by the sweetness and agreeable simplicity of its modulation. The Jews assert, that this harmony is the same which their ancestors carried with them to Babylon;—that is, the same that was used in Jerusalem during the most flourishing period of their

nation. Those climates are little subject to the variation of fashions; and if this music have undergone some change, and received improvement, it must have been in those brilliant ages when science and art, seated upon the throne of the Caliphs, enlightened an empire in which the Jewish nation was respected for its wealth, and supported by the labours of a number of eminent writers. Their ancestors introduced this harmony into Spain; and it is the same which is now heard in the London synagogues.

The Jews will never witness a renewal of those bloody scenes, of which their nation was the object, and England the theatre, in the reign of Richard I.;—scenes of which we find a circumstantial description in the writings of Matthew Paris and William of Newbury.

In the following centuries, the incapacity of the English for commerce had caused the Jews to be recalled to England, whence they

had been banished in the fourteenth century. Since their restoration in England, by Cromwell, the Jews, dispersed through the different classes of commerce, share public offices with the other merchants, amongst whom they distinguish themselves by principles of good faith, and punctuality in their dealings, from which those of their persuasion think themselves exonerated, in countries where the name of a Jew is a mark of ignominy and reproach. Their wealth forms part of the capital of a nation, and they contribute to its splendour.

M.

LETTER LVIII.

Intended Publication of the Life and Writings of Mendelssohn—Importance of that Author's Works in Favour of the Jews—Mendelssohn's "Jerusalem"—*Lavater's Translation of Bonnet's* "Palingenisis," *and his Dedication of that Work to Mendelssohn—His Demand, that Mendelssohn shall refute it, or become a Christian—Mendelssohn's Modest, Temperate, and Argumentative Reply—His Conviction of the Truth of Judaism—His Sensible and Manly Reasons for wishing to avoid Religious Controversy, and to remain in Privacy—Want of Solidity and Conclusiveness in Bonnet's Work—Translation of Mendelssohn's* "Death of Socrates."

London.

THERE are several translations of the "*Phedon*" of Mendelssohn; and I am somewhat surprised to hear that the works of this very extraordinary Jew should not have reached you. I have prepared a notice of his life and writings, which will shortly

be published. I have desired Adam to transcribe his simple, affecting account of the death of Socrates. This brief specimen will induce you to read all his works. If we reflect upon the situation he was in when his talents were matured, and his virtues exhibited—the benefit he conferred upon his nation—it is impossible to avoid lamenting the shameful abuse of social power exercised towards the Jews, when they are represented as incapable of ever being morally estimable or politically useful.

Amongst his numerous compositions, the "*Jerusalem*," apparently intended only for the Hebrew nation, is suited to all mankind, and deserves to be translated into every language.

Lavater, who translated into German the celebrated "*Palingenisis*" of M. Bonnet, in dedicating this evangelical demonstration to Mendelssohn, demands, either that he shall answer it, or become a Christian. Surprised

and afflicted at this public challenge, which might probably lead to the destruction of his future repose, the Hebrew philosopher replied to the fiery enthusiast, in a letter, the modesty, honesty, mildness, and reasoning of which, forcibly illustrate the mental power for which the writer was distinguished.

"You conjure me," he says, "before the public, and in the most pressing terms, to refute the arguments it contains, if they do not appear just to me; or, if the contrary, to do what Socrates would have done had he read this work, and had found that he could not answer it,—that is, to abandon the religion of my fathers, and embrace that of which M. Bonnet is the defender.

"I am satisfied that your proceedings emanate from a pure source; and I cannot suppose you entertain any other views than those dictated by philosophy and the love of mankind. I should be unworthy of the esteem of honest men, were I not to answer,

with gratitude, the affectionate sentiments you evince in your letter; but I must not conceal from you, that your conduct has extremely surprised me. How could I have expected that a Lavater should be induced thus publicly to challenge me?

"Who can have prevailed upon you to drag me from the crowd against my inclination, to force me into an arena where I should wish never to appear? Had you attributed my extreme circumspection to fear, that weakness alone ought to have made you treat me with indulgence.

"However, I can say with truth, that neither timidity nor cowardice has prevented me from entering into religious disputes. For a long period, I have occupied myself on objects which are directly connected with them. At an early period of my life, I discovered that the first duty of man, is to examine his sentiments and his actions; if, from my tenderest youth, I have devoted my

leisure hours to philosophy and the study of literature, it has been solely with the intention of preparing myself for this important examination. Indeed, what other motive could have so excited me?

"If the result of a meditation of many years, had not been to the advantage of my religion, I should have manifested it by some authenticated act. Conviction alone could have attached me to principles so severe, and so generally despised. And would it not have been, on my part, gratuitously mean, as well as infamous, not to have rendered homage to truth in its force of internal persuasion?

"Yes, Sir, it is after deeply reflecting upon the principles of Judaism, that I am confirmed in the belief of my fathers. I was permitted to live in seclusion, and there was no necessity for my accounting to any one for my way of thinking. I will not conceal the fact, that I have remarked, in my religion, many additions made by men, who, alas!

have but too much obscured it. The envenomed breath of superstition frequently betrays itself; and what enlightened Jew is there, who would not desire to dispel it without injuring the purity of principle? But its truths are to me so evident, that I am not less convinced of them, than you and M. Bonnet can be of the certainty of Christianity; and I protest before the Almighty, that I will remain inviolably attached to my law, so long as my soul shall not partake of another nature.

"An attempt might have been made to overturn Judaism, in polemic books, and destroy it in the exercises of the school. I should not have meddled with these controversies. Even had a man, learned in the Rabbinical language, undertaken to turn my religion into ridicule, in commenting upon some wretched books that no rational Jew peruses, from me he would have experienced no contradiction. It is by virtuous acts and

noble writings, that I should wish to refute the contemptuous opinion that is entertained of the Jews. My religion, my philosophy, my situation in life, supply me with sufficient motives to avoid all religious disputes; and only to speak in my work of truths equally important to all men.

"The law of nature, it is true, obliges us to impart to our fellow creatures our knowledge, or taste for virtue, and to extirpate, as much as may be in our power, prejudices and errors; and hence, perhaps, it may be concluded, that it is the duty of every man to publicly combat dogmas which he deems erroneous.

"But all prejudices are not equally hurtful; we must not, therefore, look with the same eye upon all those we may happen to remark in society. Some are directly opposed to the happiness of mankind; their influence upon morals is manifestly pernicious: no accidental benefit ever can arise from them. These,

then, ought to be overthrown; and such are the errors which break up our repose and our felicity; those, above all, which destroy in man the seeds of virtue before they can bear fruit;—fanaticism, misanthropy, the spirit of persecution, levity of conduct, libertinism, impiety, &c.

"But the opinions of my fellow creatures, which I consider as errors, because they are opposed to my conviction, are only abstract principles, purely theoretical, and too far removed from practical principles, to be immediately dangerous. By their *universality*, they form the basis upon which the nation that had imbibed them has established the system of morals and of social life. They have, therefore, accidentally, become important, at least to the people of whose legislation they form a part. To combat such dogmas, because they appear erroneous, is undermining the foundation of an edifice, without first propping it up, in order to dis-

cover whether it be a solid one. Whoever feels a greater interest in the welfare of mankind than in his own glory, will never run the hazard of giving his advice upon prejudices of this nature: he will take care not to attack them in a direct manner, lest he should overturn a principle of morals, doubtful to him, before his fellow citizens may have adopted the one he may be desirous of placing in its stead.

"Moreover, am I not a member of an oppressed people, who enjoy no other protection than that which the reigning nation pleases to grant to their prayers—who do not obtain that protection in all places, and never but with restrictions? Those of my creed willingly deprive themselves of the liberty that other men obtain; they are satisfied with being only endured and protected. If a nation receive them under supportable conditions, they are grateful for the benefit allowed, as in some states they are not even

permitted to sojourn. The laws of your country do not even permit your circumcised friend to pay you a visit in Zurich. My brethren in belief owe, therefore, a debt of gratitude to the powerful nation which comprehends them in the universal love of mankind, and permits them to adore the Supreme Being in the same manner as their fathers adored him. Here I enjoy a certain degree of liberty; yet you wish us to oppose the prevailing religion—to attack our protectors on the side that they are most feelingly alive?

"I have read, in the most attentive manner, M. Bonnet's work which you have translated. After what I have just said, it is unnecessary to ask if it has convinced me. But I will not deceive you: this work, as an apology for the Christian religion, does not appear, in my opinion, to possess the merit you ascribe to it. I have read a hundred justifications of this religion which have seemed to me more solid than those which,

in your view, ought to bring about my conversion.

"The general reflections, placed by M. Bonnet at the commencement of his book, appear to me of great weight; but the application he makes of them in favour of his religion have such slight foundations, and are so arbitrary, that I should not attribute them to a philosopher. His conclusions are so unsatisfactory, that, by the same mode of reasoning, I would undertake to defend any other religion he might please to name. It is probable that he wrote only for those who, like himself, are convinced, and who read only to strengthen themselves in their belief. When the author and reader agree upon the consequences, they easily agree upon the premises. But, what causes my surprise is, that you have judged this work sufficiently powerful to convince a man who, by his education, is naturally biassed in favour of opinions contrary to those which it supports.

"It is impossible that you can have placed yourself in the situation of a person, who, far from *being* convinced, must *endeavour* to be convinced. And, if you think, as you intimate, that Socrates would have found the arguments of M. Bonnet unanswerable, most assuredly one of us is a remarkable example of the power that prejudice and education have over those who seek for truth.

"I have told you the reasons which induce me to wish by no means to enter into any controversy respecting religion. But, should I be wrought upon, I will surmount the difficulties, and come to the resolution of publishing my reflections. It is to be hoped that you will spare me this painful step, and permit me to remain in that state of peace which is my only wish. It would always be a subject of regret, should I depart from the rules I have laid down."

Show this translation from the German of

Mendelssohn to Henrietta: she will, I am certain, read it with pleasure:—

The Death of Socrates.

"'Well, Socrates, you have convinced us that there is a future life to man; but, tell us also, where our departed spirits shall inhabit? In what ethereal region will they dwell? How will they be employed? What reward will the virtuous souls meet with? And will the vicious be enlightened and reclaimed?' Should any person put these questions to me, I shall say to him,—'Friend, you ask me what is beyond my province to answer. I have led you through all the windings of the maze, and shown you its outlet; other guides may conduct you farther. Whether the souls of the impious and wicked will suffer frost or heat, hunger or thirst, will sink in the morasses of Acherusia, pass their time in gloomy Tartarus, or be tossed in the flames of Phlegethon, until they are purified?—whether the blessed will breathe pure heavenly ether upon a radiant mount of gold and precious stones, bask themselves in the blushes of the splendid morning, and enjoy perpetual youth, while they drink inspiring draughts of nectar?—these are questions which I am totally unable to answer. If our poets and mythologists know better than I, let them communicate their instruction to others; the cause of humanity can sustain no injury from the play of their imaginations.'

"With respect to myself, I am content with feeling a

conviction that the eye of heaven is perpetually upon me; that its divine providence and justice will watch over me in the next, as it has protected me in this life; and that my real happiness consists in the beauties and perfections of my soul. These perfections are, temperance, justice, charity, benevolence, knowledge of the Supreme Being, increasing efforts to accomplish his views, and resignation to his divine will. These are the blessed felicities which await me in the futurity that now opens before me. Thither I hasten. More I desire not to know to make me set out cheerfully on my journey.

"You, Simmias, Cebes, and my other friends, will follow me each in his turn. I may now use the words of the tragic poet, and say—'Inexorable fate beckons to me.'—It is now time to go into the bath. I think it will be more decent to bathe before I take the poison, that the women may not have the trouble of washing my body after it is dead."

"So be it," said Crito, as Socrates gave over speaking. "But what have you to leave in charge to your friends, or me, to do, respecting your children and private affairs? How shall we live to give you pleasure?"

"By living, Crito, as I have long since recommended to you. I have nothing farther to add. If you entertain a just respect for yourself, you cannot fail to live agreeably to virtue, and to my wishes, independent of any promise you may make me. But, if you neglect

yourself, and do not follow the path which I have pointed out to you, this day as well as formerly, it will be of no purpose to make me any promises now."

"My dear Socrates," said Crito, "we will use our utmost efforts to obey you. But how shall we dispose of you after your death?"

"As you please," answered Socrates, "provided I remain still with you, and do not make my escape elsewhere."

At the same time he looked at us smilingly, and said, "I cannot, my friends, persuade Crito that he who now talks, and has for some time past been conversing with you, is the true Socrates. He still imagines that Socrates, and the corpse which he will very soon see, which at this moment serves me as a garment only, are the same, and asks how he shall inter me. All the arguments I have hitherto adduced, to prove that as soon as the poison has operated I shall remain no longer here, but be transported to the mansions of the blest, appear to him mere inventions, to console you for my death. Be so kind, my friends, as to act a contrary part to that which Crito has done towards me. He was security for me to my judges, that I should not make my escape. You must be my guarantees to him, that, after death, I shall take my departure hence; that he may burn my body, or lay it in the earth, without afflicting himself by thinking that the greatest of all misfortunes has befallen me. Neither must he say, at my interment, 'They place Socrates on his bier—they carry Socrates away—they

lay Socrates in the grave;' for know, my dear Crito, that such observations are not only contrary to truth, but offensive to the departed spirit. Inter my body in whatever manner you please, as the laws ordain; but be comforted in mind to think of the happy region to which I am fled."

Upon this, Socrates, attended by Crito, went into a neighbouring chamber to bathe, desiring us to stay till his return. During his absence, we entered into a recapitulation of the arguments we had heard, in order to preserve their impression upon our memories, and strengthen our fortitude for the trial we were about to experience in the fate of our friend; but the weight they bore, or the solace they afforded, could not prevent our minds from being deeply agitated by the melancholy event we beheld approaching; for, in Socrates, we felt that we were to lose a father, and to become orphans in the world.

After he had bathed, his children were taken to him. He had three; one of them was grown up; the other two were yet in their infancy. The women of his house also came to take leave of him. He spoke to them all in the presence of Crito, gave them his last injunctions, and then returned to us.

The sun was about to set, for Socrates had staid some time in the bath.

He sat down, but had scarcely begun to speak, when the officer of the eleven men entered, and, going up to him, "Oh, Socrates," he said, "I observe something in you very different from other men. I have been used

to meet with scornful looks and imprecations when I have announced the commands of justice, and bidden them prepare to drink their last draught; but you are the most calm and tranquil man that ever entered these walls, and, at this moment, supremely so. Did your bosom feel any resentment, I am confident it would not be towards me, but towards those whom it is unnecessary to name. I believe I need say no more: you understand the message I have to deliver to you. Farewell! Suffer with patience the doom awarded you."

At these words, he turned from Socrates, and burst into tears.

Socrates mildly answered him, as he retired:—"Friend, adieu! we shall do as you desire." Then addressing us:—"Observe," said he, "this man; he has frequently visited and conversed with me; he has a truly kind and compassionate heart; see how sincerely he weeps. But, Grito, we must obey him; let the poison be brought, if it be ready; if not, let it be prepared."

"Why in such haste, my dear Socrates," said Crito; "I believe the sun still shines upon the mountains. Many, before they taste the cup of death, eat and drink, and dedicate their last moments to love."

"They who consider every momentary suspension of their fate as a gain, may do so; I have reason for observing a different mode of conduct. I imagine that I cannot gain any thing by delay; and I should appear ridiculous to myself, were I to become avaricious of life, when it is no longer mine."

'Crito then made a sign to the slave that attended. The slave withdrew, and, some time after, the officer returned with a cup of poison in his hand, and advanced with it towards Socrates.

'The virtuous Socrates met him in his advance. "Friend," said he, "give it to me, and tell me, for you must know, what I am to do."

"Nothing," said the officer; "nothing, but walk to-and-fro after you have drunk it, until your feet become heavy; then lay yourself down—that is all."

Socrates took the cup quietly from the officer; and, fixing a steadfast look upon him, asked if he thought a few drops might be spilled in libation to the Gods. The officer answered, "There is no more than the necessary quantity."

"It is enough," said Socrates; "a prayer, however, I may still address—'Ye Gods, who call me, vouchsafe me a happy journey!'"

When he had pronounced these words, he raised the cup to his lips, and emptied it without betraying the slightest emotion.

At that moment, our fortitude failed us, and a flood of grief burst from us all. I sank under my sorrows; and, to give free passage to my tears, covered my face with my mantle. Crito, still less able to restrain his emotions, rose and paced up and down the prison like a person distracted. Apollodorus, who had scarcely ever ceased weeping during the entire day, now began to utter bitter lamentations. Socrates, who alone con-

tinued unmoved, called to us, and said, "My friends, be calm! I sent the women away, that I might not be troubled with their weakness. I have been told that a man should endeavour to leave the world amidst prayers and benedictions; I hope, therefore, you will act like men."

This unshaken constancy of soul in Socrates made us ashamed, and put a pause to our grief. He walked about in the prison until his feet began to feel heavy, and then laid himself down on the bed on his back, as he had been directed. Soon after, the officer came to observe him: he pinched his foot, and asked him if he felt it. Socrates answered, "No." He did the same to his thigh; but immediately turned round to us, and told us it was cold and stiff. He felt him again, and said,—"His lower belly begins to be affected: as soon as the poison reaches his heart, he will expire."

Socrates, who had been covered by the officer, uncovered himself, and said—"Crito, do not forget, my friend, to offer a cock to Esculapius; we owe him a sacrifice."

Crito replied—"It shall be done. Have you any thing further to command?"

To this no answer followed.

A moment after, he was convulsed. The officer then uncovered him; but his looks were fixed: upon which Crito closed his mouth and his eyes.

Such, Execrates, was the end of our friend—a man who, of all men we have known, was unquestionably the most virtuous, wise, and just.

LETTER LIX.

Proposed Emancipation, and Political Reform of the Jews—Hardships of the Jewish Nation—Religion of the Jews not Anti-social in its Tendency—Privileges of the Jews under the Roman Government—Erroneous and Unjust Policy of European States respecting the Jews—Persecutions—Natural Hatred of Man against his Oppressors—Crimes of the Jews exaggerated—Poland—Restriction of the Jews to Commercial Pursuits—Absurd Prediction of a Sicilian Prophet—Jews in Spain, Portugal, Holland, and England—Gipsies—Colonial Settlers—Indigent Jews supported by their own Community—The True Causes of Immorality amongst the Jews, to be found in the Oppression which they suffer—Salutary Doctrine of M. Dohm—Act of Naturalization, in 1753—Settlement of the Jews in England, at the Conquest—Massacre of the Jews, after the Coronation of Richard I.—Their Banishment, under Edward I.—Their Recall, under Cromwell—Religious Rights of the Jews—Toleration Act—Naturalization of Foreign Protestants,

in 1751 — *Jews' Naturalization Bill passed— Causes of the early Repeal of the Act — Lord Camden's Pamphlet in Favour of the Jews — Anecdote of Lord Nugent at Bristol—Mr. Pelham — Objections of the Jews to the Naturalization Act—Sir Sampson Gideon — Objections of Michaelis —Alleged Inferiority of the Jews in Mechanical Arts—Pretended Settlement of the Jews in Germany, previously to the Destruction of the First Temple, and before the Time of Christ—Effect upon the Jews, of their expected Return to Palestine— Jewish Sabbath—Pretended Incapacity of the Jews for Military Service—Arguments of Michaelis refuted by Mendelssohn and Dohm—The Jewish Sabbath, a Day of Relaxation and Enjoyment— Jews will fight in Self-defence on the Sabbath— Bravery of Jewish Soldiers in Foreign Armies— The Millenium, and the Return to Palestine—Lavater's Notion of Christianity and Atheism — Follies of the Talmudists—Determination of the Jewish Law, respecting the Obligation of an Oath —The Jews accused of thieving, cheating, &c., by Michaelis—Inconvenience that may possibly result from Jewish Emancipation — Their Remedy — Population of the Jews in the different European States.*

London.

I HAVE often spoken to you of that very extraordinary man—a Jew, mark that,—poor, uneducated, except by his own exertions; a translator of Plato, and a modern Plato himself. Well! this Jew has written the sublimest of things. I have taken a great deal from him in the composition subjoined: if these arguments cannot be refuted, say that the Jews ought to be emancipated! I say so! Either let them be possessed of the same liberty, or let Mirabeau become again a slave; he is accustomed to slavery, though not one of the circumcised.

Read—*Lege, perlege, relege*: if Christians can only answer these arguments (those adduced in the *Political Reform of the Jews*), then, I am satisfied—I, the plebeian Count—to remain a serf all the days of my life.

M.

P. S. Send this copy, by Adam, to D.:* he will read it with pleasure: it is not finished. This is what I am going to do in this superlatively religious nation—write the history of religion!—also of the Jews! Mendelssohn will come in, and form, and perform, a grand part: judge for yourself—and now read.

On the Political Reform of the Jews.

In most European nations, the constitution and laws tend to arrest the increase of these unfortunate Asiatic fugitives, degraded, as it were, by the very name they bear.

There are states in which they are absolutely forbidden to sojourn—where the protection of the sovereign is granted only to travellers of this nation for a brief period, limited, in some instances, to a single night—and in almost every other country, the Jews have been admitted under conditions the most burthensome, the most degrading. They are not citizens; they are

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* Probably, Duroverai.

scarcely tolerated as inhabitants. More frequently, only a given number of Jewish families are permitted to settle in a state: this permission confines them within prescribed limits, and it is never obtained but for a heavy pecuniary consideration. In many countries, they are not even thus admitted, unless they are in the actual possession of real property. A Jew cannot marry without especial permission, nor without paying; and, if a widower, he cannot marry again without incurring new expenses. Each child increases the tributary sum imposed upon him; and almost every act he performs is taxed. Should he be the father of several children, scarcely is one of them allowed to remain upon the land of his birth; the others are compelled to wander to a foreign soil not less inhospitable. Should he have daughters, how can he introduce them into the already limited number of families of his nation domiciled in the same town as himself? A Jew, therefore, very seldom lives with his own childrer, and even domestic happiness is banished (*ravi*) from his dwelling.

From without, he finds only men—enemies to him. In the details of ordinary life, the laws attack him with excessive rigour, and exhibit an undisguised partiality. Notwithstanding the multitude of taxes he is obliged to pay, his means of acquiring wealth are extremely limited. Everywhere he is excluded from rendering his services to the state, either in time of peace or war; everywhere, agriculture is interdicted to him; and, in scarcely any country in the world, is he permitted to possess landed

property. Any trading corporation would deem itself dishonoured were a circumcised person to be admitted amongst its members. Thus the Jews are excluded from all mechanical pursuits; and, therefore, in the liberal arts, comprehending the sciences, mathematics, physic, &c., are their only means of obtaining an honest livelihood. And few are there amongst them who preserve, in their oppressed state, courage and serenity of mind sufficient to induce them to devote themselves to study; happy indeed could they gain esteem at such a price! But the vulgar herd cannot forgive, even in favour of great talents and eminent virtues, the misfortune of being born a Jew.

What resource, then, remains to these unfortunates—to men without a country—to men whose industry is exposed to a thousand obstacles—who are in no place allowed to acquire property, or freely to exercise their talents—in whose virtue no confidence is reposed—for whom no description of glory exists? There is nothing but retail trade:—for the small number of those who possess sufficient means to undertake a considerable commerce, several branches of which have, moreover, been prohibited to the Jews, can they be taken into calculation, when we are speaking of the whole nation? In this retail traffic, only the frequent returns of very slender profit can procure even a scanty subsistence; even the lending of money, the profit upon which is perfectly in accordance with natural equity, has become, thanks to bad laws and the prejudices they engender,

the very dominion of a dishonest profession. Yet such is the principal, and almost the only means the Jews have for gaining subsistence; and, while it is tolerated, the laws evince a shameful partiality towards their debtors, thus aggravating their humiliations and their perils, and consequently increasing the cunning of a nation already so oppressed.

What could have induced European governments so uniformly to treat the Jewish nation with barbarity? It is difficult to persuade oneself, that so many industrious men cannot prove serviceable to a state, because they have come from Asia, and because they are distinguished from others by their beard, circumcision, and a particular mode of adoring the Supreme Being. It is true, that the religion which has been transmitted to them by their forefathers, would incapacitate them from enjoying the same rights as other citizens, if it contained principles opposed to the duty we owe to government—if it withheld them from preserving good faith—if it imposed upon them a law to hate those who are not of their creed—if it promoted fraud and immorality.

But the religion of the Jews, established upon the law of Moses, venerated amongst Christians, who ascribe it to the immediate inspiration of the Divinity, certainly does not embrace the anti-social principles to which we have alluded. Its commandments are not in opposition to those of justice and humanity; they do not clash with good faith; they do not inculcate fraud. Far from ex-

citing dishonesty, the Mosaic law, founded particularly upon agriculture, is even specially opposed to traffic, a profession which, of all others, most naturally leads to imposition.

The precepts given by Moses, more than thirty centuries ago, to an assemblage of people which has yet to become a nation, are not all adapted, at this day, and in every state, to the scattered members of this nation. Moses determined that the Jews should take possession of the country of the Canaanites, because one of their ancestors had passed through it with his flocks some hundred years before: he determined that they should form an independent state, separated from every other nation, without any admixture; and that they should obey their legislator throughout the remotest ages. Hence that invincible attachment to their laws, infinitely increased by persecutions;—hence that pride, more imposing than reprehensible, which, souring their minds, led them to isolate themselves from the rest of men;—hence that firm persuasion of pre-eminence,—which, after all, each religion assumes to itself,—which, in after times, and in the state of oppression of these unfortunates, has degenerated, perhaps, into hatred, united with contempt, for their persecutors! Indeed, why should not the Jews believe themselves to be the first of men, when, by a miracle, greater even than the miracles of their ancient history, they still exist, in despite of the violence of every nation towards them? How should they not hate, in their turn,

people who have borrowed from their sacred books all their dogmas, and who scarcely permit them to live among them?

But the modern religion of the Jews does not contain any precept of hatred or offence against the members of a different creed. It is in that respect perfectly dissimilar from every other religion that breaks, more or less, the natural links which bind men together, and always imposes upon its sectaries a certain repugnance toward those of another creed. God forbid that this should be deemed a reason for refusing the rights of citizens to sectaries, of whatsoever worship they may be, as it would force us to this conclusion—that a government is not under the obligation of tolerating any religion, or, at least, of tolerating more than one. Such a conclusion, attacking natural rights, and overturning society, strikes us with horror. Unfortunately, it is not less absurd in politics than vicious in morals.

Every society is composed of small private societies; each having particular principles—instilling into its members sentiments and prejudices apart, and tracing around itself a positive circle. The world, however, goes on; and nations, well—that is to say, freely—governed, prosper. The gentleman and the citizen, the tradesman and the labourer, the soldier and the civilian, the learned and the unlettered, erect barriers against each other; yet, nevertheless, inhabit and serve the same country. Let the Christian and the Circumcised,

either Jew or Mussulman, a follower of Ali or Omar, of the Pope or of Luther, of Socinius or of Calvin, diverge from each other; the great—the noble business of government ought to consist in causing each of their divisions to turn to the profit of the larger society, at least by a more lively degree of attachment towards it, founded upon a greater enjoyment of liberty.

We cannot doubt, that better treatment would extirpate those religious prejudices which prevent the children of Moses from adopting habits of a more social character. The Jew is more a man than he is a Jew; and why should he not love a country in which he might be allowed to become a proprietor?—where his contributions would not be more onerous than the contributions of other citizens?—where nothing would prevent him from gaining esteem and consideration? Why should he hate men from whom he would no longer be separated by humiliating prerogatives—men in whose rights and duties he would participate? The novelty of this happiness, and the unfortunate probability, that, for a long period, his nation cannot flatter itself that it will attain it elsewhere, would augment its value in his estimation. His place of dwelling would become his country.* He would regard it with the tenderness of a son, long forsaken, but re-established in his rights. These sentiments, inseparable from the human heart, would

* "Son pays deviendroit sa patrie."

have a stronger effect than all the sophisms of the Rabbins, so much exaggerated, if not calumniated.

Cast a glance upon the history of man, and you will observe, that the indulgence and impartiality of government, have always triumphed over principles of religion. What doctrine, more than that of the Quakers, comprises dogmas manifestly contrary to the principles of social union? The Quaker will not come forward to defend his country; he maintains that no allowable motives ever exist for going to war. He refuses to take an oath, which appears one of the most essential assurances that a state can obtain from a religion. He affects particular usages—an exterior which distinguishes him; he endeavours to let every one know that he is different from his countrymen. Nevertheless, the Quakers, the anabaptists, are everywhere worthy, useful, respectable citizens.

The Catholic appears authorized by his belief more than any other sectarian, of whatever religion he may be, to consider himself separated from all those who think not as he does. His religion, he is persuaded, presents the only condition required for salvation: it dictates to him the obligation of making converts. Yet, he is a useful and zealous patriot in England, in Holland, in Prussia, and in Russia.

The same may be said of the Lutheran in Alsatia, of the Socinian and Protestant in Transylvania.

The Mahometans were, in Spain, before the persecution—they are so still, in Austria and Russia—peaceful citizens.

The Jews were useful subjects in the Roman Empire. Conquered, and therefore in a state of slavery, they acquired there considerable privileges, such as the admission to all employments, whether civil or military; and, amongst others, permission to live according to their own laws *.

They preserved, during more than four centuries, the unlimited enjoyment of all the *rights* of citizens. That is sufficient to prove that they fulfilled the *duties* of citizens. Many of them were raised to the very highest dignities, even to the *honorary prefecture* †; and when they were undeserving of this honourable existence—when they were corrupted—it was because they were oppressed, deprived of their laws and of their patriarchs, placed under the power of Roman magistrates, excluded from civil employments and from the honour of deserving well of their country, loaded with burthens without compensation, reduced to the lowest situations ‡. Finally,

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* It was only for capital crimes that they were brought before the Roman tribunals; in every other case, their own judges and elders (*Ethnarchæ majores*) exercised an almost unlimited power, as can be seen from the testimony of Josephus (*Antiq. Jud.* L. xiv. c. 10). The Roman laws call their patriarchs, who held supreme power in all ecclesiastical affairs, viri clarissimi, illustres, spectabiles (*vid. Cod. Theod.* L. xvi. t. viii. l. 8, 11, 13, 15, *judæis cælic. et Samarit*).

† *Cod. Theod. de Jud.* xxii. Fastigio dignitatum, says the text, speaking of the patriarch Gamaliel.

‡ The laws call them *homines vilissimos, extremæ conditionis.*

fathers of the church *, given up to fanatacism, prevailed upon weak monarchs to destroy the wise regulations of their predecessors, in order to give proofs of their zeal in favour of a religion, the basis of which is charity, in treating without any charity those who did not possess it; in one word, in overturning all the principles of morals and of equity, to honour the Almighty; for how are we to designate, for instance, that law which forbids that *the greatest crime* committed by a child *converted*, towards parents *not converted*, can be a cause why such a child should be deprived of its inheritance by such parents † ?

Is not this at once insulting nature, driving to despair the most honest amongst the Jews, and bringing over to the Christian religion the most perverted amongst the nation?

But have not the character and mind of the Jews justified the harshness that has been employed towards them? Can they accustom themselves to consider those

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* Chrisostom delivered six discourses against them at Antioch; and it was probably through his credit at the court of Arcadius, that they were deprived of the *Autonomia*, and placed under the laws and the judges of Rome.

† Si quid maximum crimen, says the law, in matrem, patremve, avam vel læviam taces filios vel nepotes (*that is, the persons who had embraced the Christian religion.*) Commississe aperte potuerit comprobari, manente in eos ultione legitima. Parentes tamen est Falcidiam debitæ successionis relinquant, ut hoc saltem in honorem religionis electæ meruisse videantur.—L. 28, *Cod Theod. de Jud.*

of another religion as members of the same civil community? Have they not deserved, in every nation, the term applied to them of *dishonesty?* Is not every kind of artifice and fraud a Jewish invention? In countries where too much toleration has been granted to the Jews, have they not almost entirely engrossed every branch of traffic from which they are not excluded? If all these circumstances are but too well attested by facts, the Jews are, politically speaking, a nuisance in a state; and such is the indestructible cause of laws, at least restrictive ones, imposed by the wisest governments upon a nation, with a unanimity which suffices perhaps to justify them.

To reason thus is evidently to take the effect for the cause, and to endeavour to justify an oppressive policy by the very evil that it has produced. Even if we were to admit as demonstrated, the justice of reproaches heaped upon the Jewish nation, the state of oppression in which they are kept would explain all, or rather would exhibit a motive for a far greater corruption. Every honest means of subsistence is interdicted to the Jew; how then can he avoid descending into dishonesty and fraud? The laws scarcely allow him to exist; why should he conceive himself bound by them? What voluntary obedience can he render, what attachment can bind him to the state that maltreats him? What can be more natural than the hatred he bears other nations, which crush him under the proof of that which they bear him? Who has a right to exact virtues from him, when

he is not believed susceptible of any? Why be astonished that he occupies too much room, when only one spot is left for him? Why reproach him with faults which you compel him to commit? Every race of man, placed under similar circumstances, would have conducted itself in a similar manner. We have power in hand; we have always had it: it was formerly, and it is now, our business, to cure the Jew of those prejudices which are our own work, by divesting ourselves of those which we entertain towards him. The moral perverseness into which this unfortunate nation has fallen, in consequence of a detestable policy, cannot be a just motive for persevering in that policy: and, to render it hateful—that worthy fruit of ages of barbarity and ignorance—and to explain its deplorable effects, the history of the people must be traced with a bold and determined hand.

The Jews, treated like beasts of burthen, and at most like noxious animals, at the time when the Christian religion became the prevailing one—excluded from every means that might lead to an honourable existence—entered with the more earnestness into those which led to fortune; and they discovered great facilities. The possession of landed property, and agriculture, not very profitable in ages of barbarous invaders, or even in those of feudality, were interdicted to them; but nearly the whole commerce, and all the pecuniary affairs of Europe, were in their hands. They had brought from the Roman empire more knowledge—or more cultivated minds—than the respective northern conquering nations then

possessed. They were not brutalized by savage manners. Their mind had not been arrested in its progress by the new superstitions, nor by the philosophy of the schools.

If we compare the knowledge of Spain, then in possession of the Arabs, with that of Christian Europe, we cannot doubt that a time existed, in which the most enlightened part of Europe was that inhabited by the circumcised race. Indeed, the dispersion of the Jews into every country of the then known world—their more permanent connections—their more extensive correspondences—naturally gave them, in commercial transactions, decided advantages over those nations that swayed over Christian Europe, the noble part of which considered commerce as degrading, while the second class, ither through stupidity, or through fear of the spoliations of the nobility, dared not venture in any important speculations. Enterprizes of extent were rare and uncertain. The greater were the profits of the Jews, the more they became objects of envy to princes, and to the people, whose fury, increased by cupidity, was sanctified by superstition: and thus, ideas, facts, things, men, were travestied just as hatred and fanaticism chose.

Never did a people suffer persecutions so cruel, so incessant, of so long duration. Extravagant prejudices concurred with atrocious laws * to aggravate their

* Of all the nations, the founders of the actual European states, none have promulgated laws more severe against the Jews than those of the Visigoths, which directed their efforts, without disguise, to the

situation. If a misfortune occurred, brought on by the

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total annihilation of a sect they abhorred. *Deletanda secta* is their expression. Their edicts are to be found in *Lege Wisigothorum*, L. xii. tit. 2 & 3, and in *Georgisch Corp. Jur. Germ. Ant.* p. 1155. These laws prohibited the Jews from celebrating their Sabbath and Passover (L. xii. Tit. 11. l. 5, Tit. 3. l. 4), from marrying according to the Mosaic law (L. xii. Tit. 11. l. 6, Tit. 3. l. 8.), from regulating their meals according to the spirit of their religion (L. xii. Tit. 2. l. 8, Tit. 3. l. 7.), from practising circumcision (Tit. 2. l. 7.) Not even a baptized Jew was admitted as a witness against a Christian; his descendants only, when no longer a doubt remained respecting their sincerity, were allowed to bear witness in the case of a crime committed by a Christian (L. xi. Tit. 2. l. 10.) The punishment against the violation of these laws was either death, inflicted by the Jews themselves, lapidation, or the horrid punishment of being burnt alive (L. xii. Tit. 2. l. 11.) If the slave of a Jew became a Christian, he acquired his liberty. It was forbidden to receive presents from a Jew. The priests were enjoined to carry these laws into effect in the most precise manner—to make every enquiry into the conduct of the Jews, and to punish them—in fact, to take every measure against them which orthodoxy might suggest (*quid illis catholice agendum forte conveniat*, L. xii. Tit. 3. l. 23.) The secular judges dared not commence any proceedings against a Jew without the presence and participation of a bishop, or a clergyman with full powers; because the judges were suspected of being more accessible to charitable feelings towards heretics, or more disposed to receive presents from them (Tit. 3. l. 24.) If a clergyman did not obey in such cases,—that is, if he manifested feelings of humanity—he was condemned to three months' seclusion, and to a fine of a pound of gold. This last punishment was inflicted upon those judges who hesitated in executing the sentences pronounced against the Jews by clergymen.—The laws of the Franks were less severe against this nation, who belonged to the

physical order of things,* the Jews were deemed to be the sinister cause; they had irritated heaven, and their destruction—their blood—was the only means of appeasing the Deity. If an epidemic malady—if a famine,

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domains of the crown, and were denominated *servi fiscales*. This arrangement subjected them, it is true, to certain hardships (*corvees*) to certain taxes, and placed them amongst the inferior class of subjects; but the particular protection of the sovereign was assured to them (see *Du Berat, Origines de l'Ancien Gouvernement de la France*, &c. l. 6. ch. 10.) The Jews were in the same situation in England, at least during the reign of William the Conqueror, in the middle of the eleventh century. They belonged to the crown. The laws of the popes were less severe against them; they only declared this people to be unfit to be witnesses on a trial, to hold situations under government, and obliged them to return exorbitant interests (*Can. X. de Judæis et Hæret.*) This was not the canon law; they were the commentators on this law (particularly *Marta de Jurisd.* L. iv. cent. 2, *cas.* 67.) who wished to allot to the clergy the exclusive jurisdiction, in all religious affairs concerning the Jews; from this very singular motive—that the Roman laws only made the Jews submit to laws exclusive of every thing connected with religion. In those countries, like Spain and Portugal, where the Jews are not tolerated, every kind of heresy, and therefore that of the Jews, is carried before a tribunal of the Inquisition. Yet Pope Sixtus V. and Clement VIII. have expressly declared, that the Jewish religion was not amongst the number of heresies, and therefore could not be tried by the Inquisition; and they, by this declaration, abrogated a bull of Pope Gregory XIII., who had ordered that Jews should be tried by this tribunal (*Amelot de la Houssaye, Hist. du Gouver. de Venise*, edit. de 1695, tom. 1. p. 280.)

* The most striking example of the blindness, which attributed to the Jews every disadvantageous public event, is undoubtedly the

carried off a certain number of inhabitants, the Jews had poisoned the fountains, and occasioned the mortality: an infuriated mob massacred them, or prompt judicial proceedings brought them to the stake, to the delight of the fanatics.*

If the termination of a war were disastrous, some treasonable efforts of the Hebrews must be the sole cause, and these unclean victims were slaughtered. If the sovereign or his ministers stood in need of money, the Jews were obliged to lend to them; and when these all-powerful debtors thought proper to withhold payment, the bonds were declared null, and fortunate was the defenceless creditor if he were not banished from the country, and punished for the injury he had sustained.†

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accusation brought against them of having occasioned the insanity of Charles VI., King of France; in consequence of which, all Jews who refused to embrace Christianity were banished from France—See VILLARET, *Hist. de France*, year 1393.

* See the *History of the Jews*, by Basnage, and the *History of the Jewish Religion*, by M. Büsching (*Geschitachte der Jüdischen Religion*). One of the most atrocious persecutions is that of the year 1348, when the plague, which at that time ravaged almost all Europe, was imputed to the Jews. In France, Germany, Italy, and Switzerland, the people in fury massacred and burnt them, so that even the fanatic judges had no time to cause their inhuman decrees to be carried into effect.

† Thus in 1347, the Burggraves of Nuremburg, and, in 1360, two Bohemian noblemen, were exonerated by the Emperor, Charles IV., from paying both interest and capital, which they owed to

The Jews would have been more than men, if they had not hated those who persecuted them so unjustly —if they had not met the active tyranny of their enemies, at least, by indirect proofs of their hatred; and even if they had sometimes revenged themselves, upon individuals of the Christian religion, for the cruelties which they experienced, it would only have been in conformity with the nature of man.

At length, usury, and the avidity of extraordinary profits, became the distinguishing feature of a nation which could not hope to exist by less moderate gains, nor enjoy with security those they had acquired. But with respect to this circumstance, as well as every other, the monks, the only annalists of remote ages, have unquestionably exaggerated the proceedings of the Jews; and, whatever may have been the crimes of this unfortunate nation, constantly produced by the barbarous oppression of the nation in power, they cannot justify their cruelty towards them.

Indeed, every state partook of this madness; but this unanimity, far from absolving them, deprives them of every excuse, explaining every where the conduct of

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certain Jews. The Emperor Wenceslaus went still further. In the year 1390, by an edict published in the empire, all princes, counts, barons, lords, chevaliers, *varlets*, citizens, and other subjects, dwelling in the country of the Franks, were liberated, and absolved from all Jewish debts, both capital and interest. See *Haberlins tutsche Reich Histoire*, viii. page 586.

the Jews, always graduated by the treatment they received. We have seen that, less oppressed under the Romans, they were estimable. When the emperors arrogated to themselves temporal power over the Jews, spread over the whole globe, they became a kind of *monarch's cattle: serfs of the chamber* (kammer-knechte). Such is the designation they bore in Germany, where, till the period of the Golden Bull,* no state in the empire dared tolerate them without an express permission of the emperor. In France, they belonged to the state, (*servi fiscales;*) in England, to the crown. It was only in the sixteenth century that a law of the empire granted the right to all the members of the Germanic body to allow a retreat to the Jews. But this right has been exercised by no German state, as an enlightened policy would have taught them to exercise it; and in some provinces, such as those of the Duchy of Wurtemburg, the Archbishoprick of Osnabruch, &c., they are not even tolerated.

Russia banished them not many years ago. In Denmark, they are permitted to inhabit only certain places; they are suffered neither in Norway or Sweden.

Poland is the country in which the Hebrews have always been in the greatest numbers, and where they have obtained most facilities in the exercise of their industry;

* From the time of the Golden Bull, the electors only had enjoyed this right: see, on German Legislation respecting the Jews, the learned note, by M. Dohm.

and it is there particularly, that clamours are raised on the impossibility of Christians entering into competition with the Jews. But, surely, this reproach proves less against the latter, than against the whole constitution of a pretended republic, composed of one hundred thousand noblemen, and eight or nine millions of slaves. The former would conceive themselves dishonoured in exercising any trade, and the latter have not the means of carrying on commerce. Every sort of traffic is, therefore, by the force of circumstances, given up to the Jews. And, do they not keep up the little industry which is found there?

France has no Jews in her ancient provinces, except a few Portuguese, who enjoy, in Bordeaux and Bayonne, considerable privileges, granted by the same Henry the Second who gave the signal for religious wars. But this nation is scattered, in great numbers, over the three bishoprics of Alsace and Lorraine, where, with the exception of living according to its own laws, it continues to be disturbed and oppressed, as in Germany.*

* They are not permitted to reside in the house of a Christian; they are not admitted as witnesses in judicial proceedings; they cannot pass over their most legitimate claims to a Christian, for this most extraordinary reason, namely, that the latter has greater facilities than the Jew in getting them attended to and allowed. They are obliged to pay duties for protection, reception, and habitation, either to the king or the nobleman in whose territory they reside, and who very often taxes them in the most arbitrary manner. Although received as members of society, they are, nevertheless,

For a long time past they have experienced kinder treatment, and political advantages, in different countries of Italy, and particularly in the states of the Grand Duke. In 1740, the present King of Spain, then King of the Two Sicilies, granted them distinguished privileges, of which they are now deprived. Who would give credit to the fact, unless it were duly authenticated, that the prediction of a prophet, who took it into his head to declare that the king would have no male heirs unless the Jews were again proscribed, should have been the cause of abrogating their privileges, so humane, so just, so rational?

The Pope has granted them considerable liberties; and the consequence is, that in the Roman states, their conduct is free from all reproach.

Spain and Portugal have remained in all the barbarism of their prejudices; and those, even amongst the Jews, who are converted, are distinguished from the faithful by the offensive name of *New Christians*.

Holland, indeed, and England, have enriched themselves for many centuries through the means of the Hebrews, driven from Spain and Portugal, and who, without taking their industry into account, have brought with them considerable wealth. It is there that the Jews enjoy more of the rights of men and citizens:

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obliged to pay, while travelling through the provinces, considerable duties; without mentioning the poll-tax, &c. They can carry on no trade in Strasburg.—See *Fischer*, p. 98.

and there, also, they are most useful members of the state. It is known that the English Jews have been declared capable of naturalization by Act of Parliament, in 1753, and that the ferocious resistance of the people, or rather the corruption of the ministry, as I will prove shortly by a simple *exposé* of facts, caused it to be revoked in the following year. What must we conclude from the present situation of the Jews in Europe, except that they are better where they are best treated; and that an infallible method of rendering them better is to render them more happy? * *

What right have we to despair of human nature? The Bohemians (*i. e.* gipsies) are undoubtedly an extremely depraved nation. The cruel policy which has caused their tribe to be banished from all places has been the reason why they live by theft, and as declared enemies to social order. It is only in Hungary, and during the last reign, that fixed habitations were assigned them in the Bannat of Temeswar, where their number is very great. They have been restricted to agriculture and other useful works; and experience has shown, that it was extremely difficult to accustom them either to a fixed residence, or permanent occupation. But their children, born in the midst of society, conform more readily; and even, if only at the expiration of more than a century, the descendants of the gipsies actually established in this country were to become happy and useful, should not this hope be sufficient to induce government to continue its paternal care towards them?

The *Colonists* who, now that religious persecutions are no longer in fashion, are prevailed upon to settle in different states of Europe, are generally men without capacity, without industry, stupid, mere infants in understanding, who fancy that a foreign sky is more serene than their own, and promise themselves the pleasure of spending their days in idleness; wretches who have often escaped from the hands of justice; in a word, they are bad subjects, who cost the state more than they render; and we cannot but suppose, that, after enjoying a few years of exemption and favour, they will run away from the country that has received them, to go and deceive another sovereign.

But, many remain behind, leaving children, who, forgetting the prejudices of their parents, produce a generation of good citizens: this is sufficient to compensate government, even with usury; and for this reason every government should encourage colonists to settle —yet they repel the Jews! How absurd! Is it thought that settlers, brought to any country at a heavy cost, are superior to the Hebrews? Is it thought that emigrants from the Palatinate, from Saxony, Suabia, Holland, Sweden, England, Scotland—those Puritans, those Quakers, who peopled North America—resembled those who have founded the most flourishing empires? Certainly not: it was with corrupted morals, and knowledge as limited as their wealth, that the greater number of these unfortunates sought, in the new world, a situa-

tion in life which they had rendered themselves unworthy of holding in our hemisphere.

A patient forbearance, an enlightened vigilance, generous behaviour, will produce amongst the Jews more salutary effects than can be expected from settlers brought together by all the states in Europe. In every country where there are Jews, they are already more habituated, more incorporated, than foreigners can possibly be until a given period. They are acquainted with no country but the one they are seeking to obtain; they are not savage and ferocious gipsies, nor ignorant fugitives, without moral ties. In every state, many possess property; and a greater number distinguish themselves by eminent talents and vast powers of mind. They possess, in an elevated degree, prudence, application, activity, the flexibility which enables them to bend to circumstances; and some have highly distinguished themselves in public affairs.*

Their success in commerce is well known. They prove themselves eminently skilful in the mechanical arts, wherever they are permitted to exercise them. The very small number of those who have had it in their power to devote themselves to sciences, have done

* Alvaro Nunez d'Acosta, father and son, and Belmonte, held, for a long time, the official situation of *Resident*: the two former at the court of Portugal, and the third at that of Spain, to the satisfaction of all Courts.

so with great success. We should, upon examination, perhaps, find amongst their opulent merchants, grander views and wiser combinations—amongst tradesmen, and the people in general, more economy, order, and intellect, than amongst the same number of Christians. If in some respects, we grant that the morals of the Jews are relaxed, we must also do honour to that firm and constant attachment which they show to the doctrine they believe has been transmitted to their forefathers, by the Deity himself. Is, then, what is termed *character*, so common amongst men, that no respect is due to such firmness? Indeed, the moral composition of the Jews must derive a salutary influence from a connexion more mutual and more binding. The uniformity of their fate induces them to evince greater affection, one towards another, than anyother numerous nation. The indigent Jews are nowhere supported at the expense of the state: the more wealthy class provides the requisite aid—the community takes care of the individual. The Jews are, for the chief part, good husbands, good fathers: debauchery, and vices against nature, are unknown to them. They can scarcely be reproached with a single example of treason against the state.* During two centuries, no Portuguese Jew, settled in England or France, has been condemned to death.

* In 1744, the Jews were banished from Bohemia, in consequence of their being accused of treason; but, in the following year, their innocence was acknowledged, and they were recalled.

What is opposed to these good qualities? An excessive thirst for every kind of gain! But if, as it cannot be denied, this inclination be the natural and necessary consequence of a restricted and limited commerce, what conclusion may we draw from the fact, against the regeneration of the Jews under the regimen of liberty? When, in their primitive state, they lived by agriculture—when, dispersed over the Roman empire, they enjoyed all the rights of man and citizen — fraud and usury were not the distinguishing traits of their character.

It has not been sufficiently remarked, how strong the particular influences of different professions are upon prejudices and moral character. The artisan, who knows his business, will, probably, enjoy the most quiet existence it is possible to attain in our political society. Exempt from deceptive hopes, from cares—uniform in his living, moderate in his desires, he enjoys the present day in the expectation of a similar morrow.

The agriculturist is less certain of being equally rewarded for his labour; his work is less mechanical, his mind is more agitated; but, on the other hand, the simple manners of the country, the regular assiduity that his labours require, preserve his innocence and his hospitality of character.

The merchant has necessarily other habits, other principles, and a totally different mind. Circumstances of time, wants, local passions, accidental tastes, are the basis of his calculations. Continually occupied in ac-

quiring gains, in avoiding losses, in combating foreign interests, in consulting, in forcing, in gaining over fortune, he is incessantly agitated by an uneasy activity, fatigued with overstrained attention, flattered with hopes, racked with fears. The habit he has acquired of looking at every thing only for purposes of gain, must naturally contract his sentiments: temptations are so frequent;—to exact, or overrate value, is so very nearly allied to prudently taking advantage of circumstances—that even the honest tradesman may after a time deceive himself, and take one for the other. He has always something to gain or to lose in his connections with other men; he imperceptibly accustoms himself to look upon them as adversaries or as rivals; his mind becomes narrowed, his sensibility is blunted; sordid interest, or pompous, gaudy luxury, too often supplies its place.

Now, these inconveniences, attached to the profession of commerce, must, unquestionably, produce a greater, more profound influence over the Jews than over the Christians. The latter have a thousand ways of obtaining an existence; the Jews have only one. Slight, fraudulent artifices are more familiar to them, since their situation has for so long a time rendered them necessary. Usury and its gains must appear to them less unlawful, as every branch of their commerce is burthened with such heavy taxes, that ordinary profits would not suffice.

Christians, it may be observed, seldom remain attached, for many succeeding generations, to the same profession;

consequently the particular character belonging to each is, with them, confounded and weakened. The Jews in this country have been compelled, for so many ages past, to depend solely upon commerce, that this occupation has necessarily communicated to their character its disadvantageous impressions in all their force.

Such is, therefore, the true, or rather the only cause of the corruption of the Jews; their continued state of oppression, and their occupations being confined to a single object, in itself, morally unfavourable. Here the evil exists; here, also, the means of cure are to be found.

Do you wish the Jews to become better, more useful citizens?—

Banish from society every degrading distinction with regard to them; open to them every means of existence, acquirement, and possession. Far from interdicting them agriculture, trades, mechanical arts—encourage them in cultivating them. Take care, without neglecting the sacred doctrine of their forefathers, that the Jews are taught nature and its Author, morality and reason, the interests of mankind, of the great society of which they form a part; place the Jewish schools upon the same footing as the Christian schools, in every thing except what appertains to religion; let this people, like every other, enjoy full liberty of worship; let them establish, at their own expence, as many synagogues and Rabbins as they please; let the right of exclusion be granted to the Jewish Church, as to every other,

only as to religious society; but, in the limits of the society, let the decrees of the Rabbins be strengthened by the secular power. Let the Jews live and be judged according to their own laws.*

In a word, let them be placed and maintained in possession of all the rights of citizens, and soon this just arrangement will establish them amongst the most useful members of the state. This will at once remedy the multiplied evils that have been heaped upon them, and the errors which we have compelled them to be guilty of.

The details of a plan so novel, although so simple, are undoubtedly susceptible of diverse modifications according to different countries and different governments; but, at all events, no doubt can be entertained upon this essential point, the basis of the political reform of the Jews—that this nation has received from nature, like every other, the faculty of becoming better and more happy; and that it is an undertaking favourable to humanity, ordered by justice, called for by wise policy, to meliorate their situation.

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* A very curious collection of these laws was published in Berlin, 1778, under the title—*Ritualgesetze der Juden, betreffend Erbschaften, Vormundschaftssachen, Testamentem und Ehesachen, in so weit sie das Mien und Dein angehen. Entworfen von dem Verfasser der philosophischen Scriften, auf Veranlassung und unter Aufficht R. Hirschel Levi, Oberrabbiners zu Berlin.*—Moses Mendelssohn edited and published this collection, by the advice and under the direction of the first Rabbin, M. Hirschel Levi.

Such is the estimable and salutary doctrine that M. Dohm has explained in his work. Numerous objections were started, and the necessity of a candid explanation has caused a second volume to appear. Of these objections, the majority had been previously refuted: to me only a very small number appeared plausible; the others are frivolous, or bear upon false hypotheses. I will go through them with rapidity, and I will endeavour to join with M. Dohm in destroying them for ever.

But, first, I think it necessary to give an account of the revolution attempted in favour of the Jews in Great Britain, in 1753; for this constitutes the principal and almost only difficulty, founded upon facts, which, in this great cause, presents itself to the mind of an impartial man; and the memorable example of its failure appears to have damped the ardour of the partisans for the reform of the Jews; if not in causing them to abandon their principles, at least by inspiring the belief that it is politically impossible their wishes shall ever be accomplished.

Of the Act of Naturalization, carried in 1753, *in Great Britain, in favour of the Jews.*

It is difficult to say with certainty when the Jews first settled in England; but there can be no doubt that they suffered the same fate as in every other country. It appears that a great number had settled in Britain previously to the Conquest. This number was con-

siderably increased under William the Conqueror, who, for a sum of money, introduced many Norman Jews into his kingdom. Under his successors, and till the reign of Edward the First, there were so many Jews in this country, that laws were made for their government, with a tribunal and a special judge.

But, neither their number nor their wealth could procure for them the slightest consideration. The absolute property of the crown, treated like the vilest class of serfs, or rather like creatures of an inferior rank in the human species, their rulers went even to the extent of attributing to them indiscriminately a nameless crime, and punishing it with the most cruel death.* The sovereigns of those ages, whose tyranny, when they attempted to exercise it towards their other subjects, often met with very formidable opposition on the part of the great barons, and of the haughty priesthood, found in the Jews a people who endured without resistance, and even without a struggle, their barbarous caprices, their ferocious rapacity. It is true, these excesses of the Norman kings were cloaked, in England, as elsewhere, by the pretext of just punishment due to the enormous crimes imputed to the Jews, such as the frequent crucifixion of Christian children, at the time of the Passover, in mockery of Jesus Christ. But, as it has been judiciously remarked, these enormities were

* *Contrahentes cum Judæis vel Judæabus, pecorantes et sodomitæ in terra vivi confodiantur.*—Fleta. Lib. i. c. 37.

never heard of, except when the coffers of the kings stood in need of being replenished.

And how, in these ages of violence and superstition, could the crown have met with resistance to the tyranny it exercised towards this unfortunate race? This tyranny was popular; and, on some occasions, the people, themselves almost slaves, acted like inflexible tyrants. The history of England presents us with a very remarkable instance of this frenzy, on the coronation of Richard the First. Under the sole pretence, that some Jews had defiled, with their profane eyes, so holy a spectacle, the populace of London, and of several other towns, robbed and massacred, in cold blood, all those they found. The superstition of those times, equally powerful over princes and people, caused these violences to be considered as a sort of religious crusade, most pleasing to the Almighty. It is in this view only that we can account for the conduct of Edward the First, who, in 1290, to distinguish himself from his predecessors, banished all the Jews from England, under pain of death if they returned; a proscription which was as injurious to his finances as to the country; a proscription which, at once, deprived his cruelty of its victims, and robbed his avarice of their treasures.

In this state of exile, the Jews remained during three centuries and a half. But, when the English government assumed the republican form, Holland became, in many respects, an object of emulation to Britain; and the advantages of universal toleration—that of the Jews

in particular—did not escape observation. Besides, the hatred of popery, wherever that hatred prevailed—or, rather, where it led to opposite excesses—had produced feelings favourable to the Jews. Several parliamentary motions were made in their behalf;* and, if none of them proved successful, they at least encouraged the Jews, from Amsterdam, to make proposals to form an establishment of their nation in England. Negociations were entered into; and Manasseh Ben Israel was appointed to treat of the conditions. This venerable Rabbin† arrived in England, and prevailed upon Cromwell to take into serious consideration the demands he made in the name of his brethren. The Protector then summoned to his council two of the judges, seven citizens, and fourteen clergymen. He asked them if it would be lawful to re-admit the Jews in England; and, in the event of their giving an affirmative answer, under what condition ought this nation to be recalled?

Four days were passed in useless debate, on the part of the ministers of the Gospel, and Cromwell dismissed them, saying—"They had left him in a state of much greater doubt than they had found him."‡ The result of the private determination of the Protector is un-

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* THURLOE's *State Papers*, vol. 8, p. 387.

† It was asserted, at the time, that this Rabbin could prove his descent in a direct line, from David.—EDITOR.

‡ See an account of this debate, printed at the time, and quoted in the *Anglica Judaica* of Tovey, v. p. 268. See also THURLOE's *State Papers*, vol. iv. p. 321.

known. Some historians indeed positively affirm, that he granted permission to the Jews to establish themselves in England; but others (particularly Doctor Tovey, in his *Angl. Jud.*) assert that this permission was only granted them under the reign of Charles the Second, in 1664 or 1665.

From this period, the Jews have been, in England, as far as *civil* rights are concerned, exactly in the same situation as Christian Protestants. The Hebrews of other countries were under no other restrictions or privations than any other foreigners; and they who were born Englishmen possessed all the rights of natural and legitimate subjects. These assertions are perfectly true, although Judge Blackstone (*Comment.* 375) has, with an inquietude of manner, as it were, avoided entering into any explanation of the circumstance. Moreover, the time when this celebrated judge wrote, and the exclamation with which he terminates his account of what took place at the time of the Act of Naturalization,* inclines one to think that his reserve arose from timidity, and from a somewhat pusillanimous repugnance to renew a controversy that had been carried on with violence, rather than from any doubt he might have entertained upon the subject.

It is, indeed, pretended, that the Jews are legally incapable of possessing land in England. In support of this notion, an Act, said to have passed on this subject

* "Peace be now to its manes!"—*Comment.*

in the 54th year of the reign of Henry the Third, has been published, by Tovey, in his *Anglica Judaica*, taken from an ancient manuscript in the Bodleian Library; but this Act does not exist in the *Parliamentary Registers*. It has never been printed amongst the statutes; it is mentioned by no *jurisconsult;* nor does it appear ever to have been acknowledged by any English tribunal. Thus, if we suppose that it ever existed, it may be believed that it was abrogated, or that it has become obsolete.

As to the religious rights of the Jews, stronger doubts may be raised; for, although this nation enjoys, *de facto*, a perfect liberty in this respect, it is one, however, on which the law does not permit him to be certain (*pour laquelle la loi ne permet pas de lui procurer de sureté;*) the advantages of the Toleration Act* expressly extending to those only who do not deny the Trinity; and, in 1753, Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, in a solemn decision, declared null and illegal a bequest destined to the foundation of an establishment in which the Jewish law was to be read, because it was an attempt to propagate a creed contrary to Christianity, which forms a part of the law and constitution of England.

On the other hand, if foreign Jews could become naturalized subjects by a residence of seven years in the colonies of America,† no other mode gave them the same advantage, a statute ‡ declaring that no person

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* 1 Will. & Mary.

† 13 Geo. II. c. 7. ‡ 7 Jac. I. c. 2.

shall be naturalized unless he approach the *holy table* one month before naturalization. It was in order to do away with this law, so unfavourable to the Jews, against whom it became a total exclusion, and to render them, as well as other strangers, capable of presenting petitions to the House of Commons, that the Act of 1753 was brought forward. The principal circumstances attending this memorable event are entitled to our serious attention.

A Bill, passed in Parliament in 1751, declared that all foreign Protestants should become naturalized by a residence of a certain time in the British states. At first it was proposed that the Bill should be extended to the Jews as well as to the Protestants; but, when it was perceived that this extension would raise great difficulties in the passing of the Bill, it was abandoned.

However, by the very measure which was intended should favour some persons, many others were injured. It was generally said, that the only advantageous part of the law was that which had been abandoned; as the Protestants, whom the Bill would call to England, would only be men without fortune, while—it would not have been absurd to suppose—in extending the same privilege to the Jews, so favourable a law would attract hither many rich capitalists of that nation. The Bill was thrown out; but the motives of opposition were not forgotten.

Such arguments, proposed without contradiction, published without scandal, developed without murmurs,

appeared to indicate public opinion; and they whose sight penetrated the clouds of prejudice, and perceived the innumerable advantages that would accrue to the English, from the naturalization of foreign Jews, resolved not to let so favourable an opportunity escape to obtain it. Nevertheless, no precipitation was resorted to: the Bill, destined to effect this measure, was presented to Parliament only in March, 1753; and the prudence with which it was drawn up is truly remarkable.

It was restricted to this sole purpose, of rendering the Jews legally capable of petitioning Parliament to be naturalized, without previously receiving the sacrament; and thus all danger, real or imaginary, that timid minds might have conceived, was carefully avoided. Not to extend the benefit of the Bill to persons unknown, or to those who would not be subject to the law, it was resolved, as necessary, that a residence of three years, either in Great Britain or Ireland, should have taken place. Not to alarm the prevailing religion, the right of patronage or presentation was interdicted to the Jews. In fact, proof was required of having professed the Jewish religion, during the last three years that preceded the naturalization, in order *to prevent the Roman Catholics, who might get circumcised, from enjoying the benefit of the new law.**

All these precautions could not obtain for the Bill unanimity of votes. It passed in the Upper House,

* 26 Geo. II. c. 26.

where it first made its appearance; but in the Lower House, it met with a vigorous opposition, at the head of which was (such is the contrariety of human nature) a prudent and virtuous citizen, John Barnard. A still more formidable opposition was raised out of Parliament, which received, from all quarters, strong petitions against the Bill. Indeed, there were a few counter petitions presented in favour of the Jews; but, amongst the former, was that of London, which reprobated this Bill in terms the most vague, and at the same time the most violent, and emphatical; as "*tending extremely to the dishonour of the Christian religion, dangerous to our excellent constitution, extremely injurious to the interests and commerce of the kingdom in general, and of the city of London in particular.*"

These general inculpations, these declamatory predictions, this violent opposition, did not, however, prevent the Bill from passing, with a very great majority; and it received the royal assent.

But the enemies to this beneficial law, far from being discouraged, evinced only the greater activity to effect its destruction. The question was brought before the tribunal of the public: pamphlets took it up; the Act was submitted to new discussions; and the police, trade, religion, all in turn took part in this violent controversy.

It was maintained against the Act, that it would cause a fearful change in the situation of the Jews, and therefore in property, in permitting that nation to purchase—

a permission which the law had till then prohibited; and that this new legislature would be extremely injurious to the trade of the country; because many Jews, drawn hither by the Act, would pursue their career, in which they could not succeed but by the ruin of native tradesmen;—of those who, for a long period, had placed their capital in trade, and opened, at their own risk, new channels of national industry and commerce. Thus, to reward their services, our ungrateful country was ready to sacrifice them to a crowd of foreigners and unbelievers! Would not a considerable loss be sustained by the state, were it only by the diminution of the duties paid by foreigners? The Act, it is true, might induce a few opulent persons to settle in England. But, when it was taken into consideration of how many poor and wretched people the Jewish nation was generally composed, there could be no doubt, that were they to be admitted, the three kingdoms would be inundated with a multitude of vagabonds and paupers, that would become insupportable to a country already overburthened with its own poor. Covetous, avaricious, artful, deceitful, and perverse—entirely devoted to their immediate and personal interests—strangers to every kind of patriotism, to all public spirit, ought the Jews to be incorporated with the English? Was it not a certain method of corrupting for ever the national character, and fixing on it indelible vices? And why heap so many evils upon the nation? Was it to satisfy any moral or religious duty? No; on the contrary, it was expressly violating all the duties of

religion, encouraging its most inveterate enemies, establishing and patronizing the most obstinate and violent blasphemers of the name of Jesus. Without being guilty of impiety, could they resist the will of the Almighty, and attempt to appease his anger, and diminish the weight of his judgments? Had he not declared by the mouth of his prophets, that the Jewish race should for ever be a wandering and vile people? And why, in despite of these prophecies and of their fulfilment, till this day, should an officious, useless, and rash zeal, be manifested in favour of the Jews? Why expose the nation to share the calamity which surrounded this people, condemned, and accursed?

It was answered, in favour of the Act, that such clamours, for such a slight change in English legislation, were scarcely to be conceived; that the Act established no new principles, effected no innovation; that it only extended the effects of laws, the wisdom of which experience had proved. This is most certain, it was added, in whatever light you regard those in favour of whom the Bill has been carried—either as Jews or foreigners; if as Jews, the sectaries of this religion have long been permitted to reside among us; if as strangers, for many ages past every European person might be naturalized in England. Certainly, either the Jews who were born there might have possessed land before this Act, or they will not possess land in consequence of this Act; for it does not grant them such a power. Undoubtedly their legal naturalization will bring a great

many foreigners into England, and many of them will establish themselves in trade; but this is perhaps the first time that it has been seriously averred, that a country would be unfortunate in increasing the number of its inhabitants, in extending its commerce, its industry, its capital, its wealth. It were as absurd to suppose that no new commercial establishment could prosper in England, but to the detriment of the old, as it would be to say that the commerce of this kingdom cannot extend itself. Besides, the Bill of Naturalization would draw hither only rich capitalists, because they are the only persons who can derive benefit from it; and, if the poor Jews feel disposed to come to England, nothing prevented their coming before; no new incitement invites them since the passing of the Bill. The argument adduced, that their misery will be a weight upon the nation, is absolutely false, as the indigent Jews are the only sectaries whom the opulent of their creed never abandon to the charity of others; the different synagogues assisting them with all their power. As to the vices of the Jewish nation, they cannot be ascribed to its religious doctrine, as it does not inculcate or allow the slightest immorality. If, therefore, the alleged facts of this nature, and the accusations heaped upon this unfortunate race, are not calumnies, no cause can be assigned for them but restrictions, humiliation—the oppression, in a word, under which they suffer; and, this cause once removed, the effect ceases with it. As to the pretended want of public spirit, of zeal for the

common cause, of patriotism, this imputation is easily contradicted by recent facts; as, during the rebellion of 1745, several Jews were the very first to come forward in defence of government, at the peril of their fortune and their lives. In fine, it is more than absurd to regard the Act of Naturalization of the Jews as impious and destructive of religion, contrary to the judgments of God and his prophecies; as though there could be any impiety in affording an asylum to those who suffer! As though religion imposed the duty of depriving men of their natural rights! As though it was even in the power of man to oppose the judgments of God! As though inspired prophecies required the concurrence of mankind to carry them into effect! Let us leave to Providence the care of executing its decrees; that, from the protection which this country grants to the Jews, no greater calamities will fall upon us than upon Venice, Leghorn, Amsterdam, and every other town that has harboured them, namely—population, trade, industry, riches, and every sort of prosperity.

Such were the principal arguments employed on both sides, in this controversy; but, unfortunately, reason was not left to decide the question. All at once, from one extremity of the kingdom to the other, absurd reports were circulated, intrigues were whispered, and universal and furious outcries were raised against the Act. Many counties, many towns, addressed votes of thanks to their members, for having opposed the Bill, and urged them to obtain its abrogation.

At any other time, these idle clamours would have experienced, from ministers, the contempt they deserved; but a general election was on the eve of taking place, and government felt so alarmed at the universal discontent evinced, that it suddenly formed the resolution of giving way to the opposition, and withdrawing the fatal Act as soon as Parliament should re-assemble.

In consequence, during the next session, the first Act that was passed annulled the Bill in favour of the Jews; and, that this truly public calamity might be rendered perpetual, the reason assigned in the preamble of the new Bill, for the abrogation of the former, was, that it had been seized upon to foment disturbances amongst the King's subjects.

It was on the first day that the two Houses met, after the pusillanimous declaration of the ministry, that the revocation was proposed. Such was the madness of the times, such the madness of the administration! Let us remark, that the only pamphlet, ever written by the celebrated Lord Camden, who was then only a young lawyer, was against the revocation of the Jews' Act; but, finding that Mr. Pelham was determined to withdraw the Bill, through the fear he entertained respecting the general election, then at hand, this courageous citizen felt so indignant, that he burnt his composition without publishing it.

Let us mention an anecdote, which shows upon how slight a thread the most important destiny of human affairs may depend. During the general election, Lord

Nugent put up for the city of Bristol; and while on the hustings, an old woman cried out—"Oh, dear! have I lived so long to see an Irishman and a Jew represent the city of Bristol!" Lord Nugent turned gravely towards her, and said—"My good woman, if you will only step aside a moment with me, I will soon convince you that I am indeed an Irishman, but not a Jew!" This joke excited great laughter in the meeting, and the general outcry was suddenly appeased. Such is often the nature of popular clamour! A single word may suffice to deaden it. If Mr. Pelham had possessed Lord Nugent's presence of mind, even without his firmness, the Act of Naturalization would still probably exist, and would have enriched England by many millions.

Another more curious and more remarkable fact was, that the Jews themselves were not unanimous in favour of the Act of Naturalization. The zealots and sticklers soon perceived, that the probable effects of the Bill would be, to weaken the influence of the religious doctrine of the children of Moses—to disperse the rich—to isolate the poor—to reconcile, insensibly, the Christians, at the expense of the Jews, and to the great detriment of their persuasion. Their fears were not unfounded; for Sir Sampson Gideon, the son of the most opulent Jew of the day, besides being in favour of the Act of Naturalization, of which his father was the principal supporter, embraced Christianity very shortly afterwards—married the sister of Lord Gage, and of the celebrated general of that name, who commanded in

America—was elected member of Parliament for the county of Cambridge—supported a severe contest for that county; in a second Parliament — and, at the moment I am now writing, he is still a member for the city of Coventry, which is a bishoprick.

This example appears to us a faithful prognostic of what would have happened, if the Bill had remained in vigour. It is a singular but unquestionable fact, that, whenever the English Jews obtain a certain degree of opulence, they are desirous of passing, in society, for Christians. And as it is by dint of expense, that they expiate their original stain (*à force de dépense, qu'ils expient leur tache originelle*), their profusion has diminished their resources for great affairs, which, joined to other causes, such as the competition of a nation very commercial by nature, and very industrious, the facility which the bank is the mistress of giving, and gives rather to Christians than Jews, the privation of profit from public loans, which has been taken from them, since government has perceived that it was a greater gainer, at least in docility (*au moins en docilité*), in giving them up to others, &c., multiplies the difficulties of this nation, and prevents them from rising, which greater liberty seemed to assure them of in England.

However it may be, the impartial reader can now decide whether the justice and possibility of this great revolution are invalidated by the revocation of the Bill which naturalized the Jewish nation in Britain, and

which was destroyed solely for the purpose of promoting ministerial interest at a general election.

It now remains for us to examine the principal objections afterwards made against this reform—a measure which both policy and humanity loudly call for.

Objections of M. Michaëlis and Others.

THE most formidable adversary of the Jewish cause is Mr. Michaëlis, a learned and clever man, well versed in the law of Moses. His principal arguments may be summed up in this question:—

Does not the law of Moses contain things which render the complete naturalization of the Jews impossible; and, if we can use the expression, the perfect amalgamation of this nation with other people?

Mr. Michaëlis is inclined to think so. The principal aim of the laws of Moses, of this unrelenting persecutor of the Canaanites, appears to him to be to isolate the Hebrew nation, and to inspire it with hatred to other nations. So long as the Jews are not allowed to eat, to drink, or lead a social life with Christians—so long as a distinction of pure and impure meats exists amongst them—they cannot be incorporated with other people. They are, therefore, susceptible only of serving the state in agriculture and manufactures. But, adds Mr. Michaëlis, as the Jews will never equal the Germans in any art, in any profession, it would be unjust to let

them enjoy the same rights. They cannot deserve them, since they are total strangers to the love of country; and how should they be otherwise? They consider their present existence only as transitory, because they are continually expecting their return to Palestine; and that the period foretold by their Prophets is for them the signal of happiness.

Moreover, the excessive increase of the Jews, who marry very early, agreeably to the injunction of their religion —their extreme industry—their excessive sobriety—are such that Christian workmen could never sustain a competition with them. And if to these observations be added, that the Jews—almost all of very small size, obliged to abstain from every kind of occupation on the Sabbath, restricted to uneasy rites for their food, equivocal as to the degree of respect they have for an oath—are unfit for the military state, it must appear that they will soon have obtained possession of every sort of active employment, every profession, every estate; and that thus the Christian population will disappear before that of the children of Moses;—an iniquitous, disastrous revolution, because the native Germans would become victims, and a Hebrew herd, a state of degrading Judaism—(*Une horde Hébraïque, un Etat de Juiverie avilissante,*) would succeed to those now in existence.

What would be gained by it? continues Mr. Michaëlis. A perverse and detestable race. Half of the thieves who exist in Germany are Jews. He ap-

peals to the fact of the criminal registers of many centuries, and pretends that the proportion of Jewish malefactors to Christian ones is not fewer than twenty-five to one! How many generations, he adds, must pass before a beneficial change can be effected? To carry the love of mankind so far as to grant the Jews, with so uncertain, so remote, and so slight a hope, the liberty of citizens, to the detriment of Christians, from whom princes hold their rights, their authority, their power, would, therefore, be a gratuitous and inexcusable injustice.

Mr. Michaëlis consents, however, to attempt a few trials, and make the Jews cultivate some barren soil; but he is of opinion that the state would do wrong in encouraging them in the study of the sciences, which already form the occupation of too many men, wretched, unmarried, a burthen to others and to themselves, because there is not room sufficient for such competitors. With stronger reasons, the learned German will not allow the Jews to occupy any honourable situations, either military or civil. Yet he insists, that they pay an extraordinary tribute for the protection granted to them; in fine, he invites governments, in the name of humanity, to do all the good possible to this unfortunate race without risk to the state.

Such is a faithful analysis of his objections. Here is substantially the answer of Mendelssohn, in which I have occasionally introduced my own ideas:—

It is a strange abuse of historical facts, to affect to

discover, in the proscription of the Canaanites, the seeds of the pretended hatred of the sectaries of the Mosaic law for every thing that is not Jewish. As well might I derive the proscription of the modern Hebrews from the *Deicide*, perpetrated by their ancestors nearly twenty centuries ago, upon the Asiatic coast of the Mediterranean. This is, in my opinion, logic worthy of the eleventh century.*

Where is the faintest shadow of proof found, that the modern Jews think themselves permitted to hate, as Cananites, all who are not of their creed? And, if you dare not make this assertion—if you agree, that murder, theft, fraud, all immoral actions, are crimes according to the law, against whomsoever they are committed—why proscribe them? Because they have particular rites?

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* It lasted, however, much beyond the fifteeenth. It was in order to avoid a persecution of this kind, in 1348, that the Jews maintained, in Worms, Ulm, and Ratisbonne, that their ancestors had settled in Germany before the destruction of the first temple, and long before the time of Jesus Christ. That, consequently, their whole generation did not take part in the actions of the Jews in Palestine; in proof of which they produced a letter, which they asserted these latter had written to them at the time to communicate intelligence of the tumults (*tumultes*) raised by Jesus Christ, and giving an account of the punishment he had undergone. See the *Chronicle of Spire*, by LEHMANN. (*Speyerische Chronick*, lib. 5, chap. 17, p. 414.) The letter itself is to be found in the *Chronicle of Germany* (*Deutsche Chronick*) by Seb., FRANCK., p. 327, and in *Speidelii Speculo Juridico Politico Observationum*, p. 658.

What sect does not practice observances which belong only to itself? Which professes not for other creeds a contempt that manifests itself with more or less strength, according as the political relations of different religious societies, or the cultivation of their mind, the influence of education, and knowledge, have more or less weakened the impressions of sacred opinions? ... There are meats forbidden to the Jews! ... An excellent reason for refusing men the rights of man! Even if the fact were not exaggerated—and it is so to the extreme of absurdity—the opinion, that a pig is sufficient to defile the dwelling of a Jew, is a fable. The children of Moses may, without infringing on the law, breed, (*élever*) feed, and carry on the trade of selling swine. There are a thousand examples of the fact in Prussia; and we may judge from this of the objection that Mr. Schwager has drawn from the pretended scruple of the Jews, in this respect, against their fitness for agriculture. Perhaps there is not a single reproach in detail made against them, which does not present similar inaccuracies.

As to the hope, or even the certainty, of their return to Palestine, it has no more influence upon the civil conduct of the Jews than any other religious opinion has upon other men. It does not prevent—quite in accordance with human nature—the Jews from preferring the spot where they are less badly off; and the prediction of Mr. Michaëlis is the more ill-timed, as the Talmud, in which the adversaries of the Jews pretend

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that they repose so much confidence, and consider it, at least, a collection of the decisions of their wise men, forbids them to think of returning to Palestine, through means of violence, or to make a single attempt with that intention, unless preceded by miracles and extraordinary signs announced in their sacred books. Thus all the attempts of the Langalleries, the David al Rois (in Persia), the Zabathai Tzevis (in Turkey), and other projectors of this class, who only wished to obtain money from the opulent Jews, have never been able to succeed. These pretended Messiahs have neither caused a revolution nor made a fortune. In a free and prosperous situation, would not this King-Messiah be soon forgotten — his advent presupposing a state of slavery and oppression in the Jewish nation?

It is equally impossible for us to give more serious attention to the fear of a population of Jews so excessive, as to take away from the Christians the possibility of competition, and render the children of Moses universal proprietors of the property and professions of mankind.

On the very face of it, this gigantic objection implies a contradiction in terms to the assertion Mr. Michaëlis is pleased to make, when he supposes that the Jews would never be able to equal the Germans in any art. It is not less opposed to the artful calculation of Mr. Schwager, who has, at great length, laboured to prove, that the Sabbath, combined with the respect paid to the Sunday, is of so disadvantageous a consequence to these poor Hebrews, that they will be com-

pelled to rob in order to exist! The example of the Swiss Catholic Cantons, which certainly do not supply more thieves than the Protestant Cantons do, is a sufficient refutation of these sophistical quibbles.

Now, in all candour, does it appear that the Jews are extremely embarrassed in surmounting obstacles, when the Sabbath comes in collision with their affairs and their interests?*

But which of these two assertions are we to believe; —the superiority or inferiority of the Jews, in their competition with Christians? Let our adversaries agree amongst themselves; from them we are content to receive the answer.

Besides, if the Jews receive only equal liberty to exercise their talents and their industry—if every monopoly be refused them—every exclusive privilege; and if we punish severely every species of fraud of which they may be guilty, it will never be but by skill, ingenuity, assiduity, a greater economy, that the Jews can acquire a superiority over the Christians, in those classes that live by labour. In this supposition, all that I see we have to regret is, that a nation so endowed with talents, has been kept so long under the impossibility of developing them; and, in this light, every

* In the large commercial towns, for instance, Berlin, the principal post-day falls upon a Saturday, a day on which the religion of the Jews prohibits them from writing and even sealing letters; but they avoid this by expediting their letters on the Friday.

sensible man ought to rejoice in having acquired more useful citizens.

But as it is not probable that the Jews, having been confined hitherto to trade alone, will evince a more extraordinary industry, be more fertile in expedients than the Christians, divided into so many different professions, so soon as they shall become eligible to other pursuits, why should not their success, supposing them to obtain it, inspire Christians with more emulation, render them more laborious, more economical?

If it be true, as Mr. Dohm justly observes, that, in forming new settlers, no fear is entertained that they will injure the ancient inhabitants—if a greater population, which is the result, necessarily contribute, on the contrary, to cause industry, in general, to prosper—why should we not expect consequences as favourable, in granting the Jews the same rights as to an assemblage of settlers? why should you refuse to a circumcised race permission to cultivate the numerous barren lands (the barrenness of which is a disgrace to most European governments) that absorb almost half the countries self-styled cultivated and civilized? Have they who wish to proscribe the Jews, in favour of the pretended interest of the natives, deeply reflected, carefully calculated, whether these proprietors would not make a much more advantageous bargain in receiving, as citizens, those whom they tolerate, than in introducing strangers at a heavy expense?

The argument employed by Mr. Michaëlis, with respect

to the incapacity and inaptitude of the Jews for military service, is not a little singular and worthy of observation. A philosopher would content himself with asking him, as Mendelsshon does—Is there any religion which approves of *a war of aggression?* (une guerre d'insulte?) If there be one, let that alone be banished from the face of the earth. But you, Christians, who have not the misfortune to obey such a religion, do not impute to us as a crime the respect for human blood on the sabbath day!

A politician might say to Mr. Michaëlis,—the actual position of things is such, that the most fortunate state, in its wars, is generally that which possesses most money in its treasury—which makes use of it with the most wisdom and economy—and which thus finds itself able to oppose to the enemy the greater number of soldiers, well exercised, well provided, and consequently attached to the service. It is, therefore, a matter of indifference, in modern governments, whether their subjects make war in their own person, or whether they sustain it with their money, by means of which is procured a better chosen army, stronger, more skilful than the former, and particularly endowed with that *sole courage* which is now useful in war—*passive obedience!* (celui de l'obéissance.)

But these arguments, howsoever powerful they may be, equal not, in my opinion, that which Mr. Dohm had advanced against Mr. Michaëlis beforehand, in quoting his own writings.*

* See the *Mosaic Law* of Mr. Michaëlis, c. ix. p. 112, and the following.

"This learned author has demonstrated," he says, "in the most convincing manner, that the sabbath instituted by Moses was a day of relaxation and of joy, the celebration of which consisted much less in teaching religion, than in singing hymns, executing religious dances, and enjoying society. The work of slaves was the only one prohibited by Moses on the sabbath. How could the author of the Hebrew laws have given to a nation that he himself had brought up to war, the absolute order not to carry it on upon the sabbath day? No trace of it is found in the legislation of Moses; and, till the period of the destruction of the first temple, we do not observe, that, in the numerous wars in which the Jews were engaged, they abstained from defending themselves against their enemies, or attacking them on the sabbath. It was only after their return from the kingdom of Persia, and when they again formed a new state, that some of the most scrupulous embraced the singular idea, that self defence was forbidden on such a day, and that God would not fail, if they stood in need, to save them by a miracle. Finding, however, the very first time they acted upon this fanatical principle, that Divine assistance was not granted, and that a great number of Jews, unwilling to defend themselves on the sabbath, had been massacred,* even the superstitious agreed, that, if it were not permitted to attack, it was at least permitted to defend."

It is difficult to conceive that the same writer who,

* Maccabees, i. 2, and Josephus, l. xii. c. 6.

in substance, advances all these things—who assures us that this enthusiastic opinion was that of a few individuals—who recals the signal services of the Jews in the wars with the Grecian monarchs, and with the Roman people—who exhibits the Jews as volunteers in the army of Alexander,* as the confidential militia of the Ptolemys† and of the Syro-Macedonian kings‡—as esteemed by Pompey their conqueror, and by Cæsar, who attributed to the Jewish cohorts the honour of his victory over Mithridates—as thanked by honourable decrees of the senate §—rewarded by privileges—reputed, indeed, for their valour and their fidelity, until the fifth period of our era, in which the Emperor Honorius declared them incapable of military service;—it is difficult to conceive that the same writer should maintain that this nation ought to be refused the rights of men and citizens, because they are, and will be for ten generations together, incapable of the duty of defending society,—the society, says Mr. Michaëlis, which they would invade at the expense of the nations from whom princes hold their rights, their authority, their power, if an eternal barrier did not exist between them and the Christians * * * * Good God! what a theory!

Unquestionably, the kings, who hold their power from the people, are the guardians of the rights of the people. But is not the Jewish people also a people? Let it be

* Jos. l. ii, last chapter.

† Jos. Ant. l. xii. c. 1, and Contra Appionem l. i.

‡ *Ibid.* l. xii. p. 3.

§ Josephus relates the particulars in Ant. l. xiv, c. 14—17.

expressly shown what period of time determines the affinity between natives and foreigners? How many ages must men inhabit a country to be naturalized in it? Are there not natural rights anterior to all social compacts, and more sacred than they? Men who cultivate their mind—who exercise their reason—have they yet to learn, that we should effectively contribute to the happiness and improvement of mankind, by consigning to eternal oblivion those distinctions of citizens and foreigners?—more especially as the principles of humanity, of good and wise policy, eternally agree.

Give the Jews a country, and they will love their country: they would love it, they would defend it, even should their religion forbid them so to do. The fathers of the church ordered the primitive Christians not to fight, under whatever pretext it might be, but rather to submit to slavery: to desert the military service, if they could not leave it by any other means: to live without office, without property, in community of goods, and as strolling vagrants--rather to die as martyrs, than to disobey their religious precepts, &c.

Has not the nature of circumstances proved more powerful than the fathers of the church?—It appears to me, that, in despite of these precepts, the Christians have, upon the whole, fought tolerably well. Community of property does not exist; we make up our minds to accept office; and rarely is the palm of martyrdom an object of ambition. Thus will it be with the Jewish nation. The expectation of the Messiah will no more prevent them from being good citizens, than the *return*

of Jesus Christ, predicted by Justin the Martyr, Irenæus, Tertulian, Lactantius, Supitius, and many others, has rendered Christians bad citizens. The hope of the return to Palestine will experience the same fate as looking forward to a millenium, or the temporal reign of a thousand years, foretold by the illustrious Lavater.* In a word, the follies of the Talmudists will not prove more dangerous than the errors of the fathers of the church, when the Jews shall enjoy all the happiness of which they are susceptible.

A weightier reproach is cast upon the Jews by Mr. Michaëlis; but Mendelssohn repels it with much energy. This is, first, the ambiguity, the equivocating legality, of the oath; and it would not be a sufficient answer to cite the example of the Quakers and Memnonites; for there is a great difference between refusing an oath and permitting a doubtful one. But this equivocation exists only in the assertion of those who calumniate the Jews. The following is the exact determination of their law respecting oaths:—Mendelssohn is the author; and who amongst us may be entitled to call in question the testimony of a man so universally respected for his virtues, so eminently acquainted with every branch of Hebrew learning?

1. Any evidence contrary to internal conviction, but which would do injury to no one, is an untruth (*contre vérité.*)

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* Lavater says, "Whoever is not a Christian, (that is, on the Lavaterian plan), whoever does not believe in the Millenium, and in intuition, is an atheist."

2. If evidence, contrary to truth, injures any one, it becomes a falsehood (*mensonge.*)

3. It is permitted to employ an untruth (*une contre vérité*) to one's own advantage; but it is not allowable to make use of a falsehood (*mensonge*); not even to take an oath to support (*appuyer*) an untruth, because that would be taking the name of God in vain.

4. If any one employ violence, and arrogate to himself the right of drawing out evidence which may injure oneself or another, one becomes obliged to withhold, or conceal, the truth, even to say what is not true, with a mental reservation (*reserve mentale*), although it is not admitted by the Rabbins; for necessity forms an exception to the rule.

Hence it follows, that judges alone can force a Jew, faithful to his oath, to utter a hurtful truth (*une vérité nuisible*); and he would be guilty of perjury should he not tell the truth, or should he take a false oath before those who have the right to require it.

These distinctions are certainly too subtile; but they are perhaps less distant from veracity than the indefinite prostitution of the oath which our tribunals require, in numerous cases where it is absurd not to foresee perjury; and there is an essential difference between the somewhat subtile oath of the Jews and the calumnious imputation, that they are not bound to keep faith with a Christian.

There yet remains a terrible accusation which Mr. Michaëlis raises against the Jews, that the greater part of the thieves and robbers of Germany belong to their

nation. Mendelssohn, in his turn, cites the criminal registers; asserting that, if they are examined, there will be found twenty-five times more thieves, and concealers of stolen goods, amongst the Christian brokers, than amongst the Jews. This answer appears to me ingenious, and calculated to make us reflect. First, on account of the bold assertion of Mr. Michaëlis, who should have done one of two things; have correctly quoted the criminal registers, if he had examined them, or not have mentioned them unless he had consulted them. Then, because he only recals to us the misfortunes of the Jews, the sole cause of their misconduct. Also, because it was proper to show Mr. Michaëlis, that a writer who takes up the pen against a nation ought to regard himself as a magistrate, and religiously consider all the wrongs he may allow. Now, when we are talking of the vices of a whole nation, murderers, highway robbers, traitors to their country, incendiaries, infanticides, &c., must be taken into account. Also, that there are crimes, almost unknown amongst the Jews, which are but too common amongst the Christians. At all events, there is far too much haste in pronouncing that the deep immorality of this nation, (which, however, is only accused of theft and cheating) renders it unworthy of enjoying the rights of men and citizens; without reflecting, as shewn by all historic annals, that it can supply, as freely as any other nation, useful members to political society. To the numerous and positive facts which establish this position, nothing but conjecture and fears are opposed.

God forbid that I should offend Mr. Michaëlis, or that this writing, undertaken from the purest motives, should be injured by the slightest personality. But I exhort the adversaries of the Jews (I wish the word *enemy* were abolished in every language) to examine, with good faith, in this important discussion, whether they have not always justified oppression by the consequences of oppression—sought for causes in effects—calumniated, in order to explain—supposed, instead of proving—predicted instead of replying? I exhort them to enquire, whether it be not an extremely reprehensible levity, to strengthen, by frivolous or ill-natured objections—by hazardous facts, if not absolute falsehood—by odious and gratuitous suppositions—so barbarous a prejudice as that which mutilates a numerous part of mankind,*

* I have not been able to procure even a probable account of the Jewish population. But here is the list, apparently very incorrect, and diminished, by at least one half, in the statistical tables of Mr. Brendel:—

	Jewish Inhabitants.
In Austria and countries thereto belonging	223,000
In Lower Austria	570
In Austria Friaul	400
In Tyrol and Anterior Austria	1530
In Bohemia	36,000
In Moravia	24,000
In Austrian Silesia	8,000
In the Duchy of Mantua	2,660
In Bukowinia	5,530
In Gallicia and Lodomeria, in 1780,	150,302
According to others 225,000; and, according to the census of 1785—157,000	
Prussian States: in Pomerania	1,170
Duchy of Magdebourg	83

and degrades it below the rank assigned by nature to all her children? Ah! in the problem of morals it is nature whom you must consult; it is upon general reasons—upon primary, original *data*, common to the whole spe-

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	Jewish Inhabitants.
Principality of Ostfrise	269
Silesia	11,000
Presbourg	2,020
In Saxony, Bavaria, Brunswick, Lunebourg, and other German States, the tables do not give a single Jew; the same with Hesse, and yet the last census gave 1400.	
Hamburgh	10,000
Altona	6,000
Bonn	200
Wirtemberg, Frankfort on the Main	7,000
France (1781) 3045 families at five each	15,225
Alsace	4,200
England	12,000
Savoy	5,670
Pope's dominions	8,000
Total number	962,095
According to others, who add for Gallicia and Presburg	86,000
	1,048,095

According to a work (*Weimar, Geog. Ephemeris,*) published in 1825, the number of Jews scattered throughout the world, amounted in that year, to about 3,165,800 individuals, exclusive of 15,000 Samaritans and 500 Ishmaelites, making a total of 3,181,300.

Europe, 1,918,053, or a proportion of 110½ part of the entire population, calculated at 122,000,000.

Asia	738,000	America	5,700
Africa	504,000	New Holland	50

cies—that you must decide. Human nature is everywhere the same. The Jews will be what other citizens are, in states where the same rights are granted them, where the same duties are prescribed to them. And even were it true, that the political reform of the Jews would produce some inconveniences; that their moral and physical regeneration—for man, like other animals, may be influenced by great crossing of breed—(*soumis à l'influence du plus grand croisement des races*)—should require some vigilance of police, some paternal care; is government instituted for any other purpose? has it more sacred duties to perform? Undoubtedly not. He who would assert that state policy requires to be at once cruel and timid, to banish and to oppress strangers, would thereby accuse himself. Let us say more—he would accuse himself of ignorance, of impiety, or the government of inability, in not bestowing morals and good conduct upon a people who had lost them in the midst of oppression, and who would infallibly recover them under more just treatment.

Finally, do you mean to say, that the pretended vices of the Hebrews have taken such profound root that they can be exterminated only at the end of a third or fourth generation? Well; begin, then, immediately, for such is not a valid reason to put off this grand political reform of a generation; since, without this reform, you can never see a generation corrected; and the only thing which you cannot conquer is—lost time. M.

LETTER LX.

Fanaticism and Superstition—Astrologers, Magicians, and Sorcerers—Lilly and Fairfax—Hopkins, the Witch-finder—Apparition of the Devil—Archbishop Harsnet—Merlin—Ancient Chroniclers—Charge of Witchcraft against Bishop Grosthead—Andrew Melvil—Ghosts—Hobbes—Isaac Vossius and Charles II.

London.

By one of those contrarieties which would be thought impossible, if daily experience did not demonstrate their existence, fanaticism and superstition are near akin to each other. When once the imagination of the people is wrought upon, it runs equally into both these excesses; and the progress they make in them is proportioned to their temper and constitution.

" Chez les Anglois, sombres et durs esprits
Toute folie est noire, atrabilaire:
Chez les Français elle est vive et legere."
VOLTAIRE.

In those turbulent times, when almost all England was in arms against the King, episcopacy, &c.,—in those times of mutiny and rebellion, while the English acknowledged no rule or law of conduct but what was called *The pure word of God*, the kingdom was filled with astrologers, magicians, and sorcerers.

The long parliament had one Lilly,* attached to its interest, who every year published an almanac, in which he foretold conquests and victories over the royal party.

* "Mr. William Lilly's History of his Life and Times, from the year 1602 to 1681; written by himself in the sixty-sixth year of his age, to his worthy friend, Elias Ashmole, Esq."; and published from the original manuscript, in 1715, may be regarded as one of the "curiosities of literature." This impostor is admirably ridiculed in *Hudibras*, under the name of Sidrophel.—EDITOR.

Fairfax himself condescended to consult this impostor, whose art he publicly declared to be actually conformable to the *word of God*. The same parliament looked upon all their adversaries in the light of sorcerers. They therefore appointed commissioners to visit the provinces, and purge them of this wicked race. The proceedings of these commissioners, and the proofs which they resorted to, combined all that was most ludicrous and most cruel, in the practices of the monkish inquisitors for the discovery and extirpation of witchcraft.

One of the most zealous of these commissioners, named Hopkins, had the same misfortune as the Dominican friar, whom his brethren inserted in the legend by the name of St. Peter the Martyr. In a certain country, when he could make no resistance, he was seized, and plunged in water, with his hands and feet bound, by way of trial; he swam upon the surface, and having thus

convicted himself of sorcery, he was condemned to be hanged. The people went on with the jest, and he was executed acordingly.

A committee of this Parliament of Cromwell held its assemblies at Woodstock.

One of these meetings was disturbed by an apparition of the devil: this was rumoured about, and gave rise to an infinity of speculations and disputations.

Withers, a writer for the Parliament, has, in a long wretched poem, taken notice of an event of the same nature. The story is, that a soldier of the royal party, drinking to the devil's health, was, in a moment, snatched through a pane of glass by the fiend whom he invoked!

Many persons had then the devil at their command. Meric Causaubon, canon of Canterbury, has not thought it beneath him to give the history of the commerce carried on by the father of lies, and one Dr. Dee,

a character somewhat resembling Count Gabalis.

The facetious Butler has not neglected these facts, with which he has enlivened the eighth canto of his poem of Hudibras.

Archbishop Harsnet was, by his station, compelled to hold conferences with a person who pretended to cast out devils: after vainly attempting to undeceive the enthusiast, he wrote a dialogue in the manner of Le Sage's *Devil upon two Sticks*, in which he represented the puritans and catholics quarrelling with each other. It is said to be a masterpiece of humour. The archbishop who wrote it, composed an epitaph for himself, which is still extant in the church of Chigwell, in Essex. *Indignus episcopus Cicestrensis, dein indignior Norwicens, demum indignissimus archiepiscopus Eboracensis.*

The melancholy temper of the English has rendered them, in all ages, extremely fond of every thing which appeared to be

out of the common order. Hence that veneration, so long and universally established, for the sorcerer Merlin, &c. The writings of all the ancient poets of Great Britain—of all the historians—of William of Newbury, and Matthew Paris himself—are one continued register of miracles, apparitions, and ghosts.

In those barbarous ages, the monks, who alone kept the records of the revolutions, and the several events of Europe, were devoted, as much by interest as by taste, to that phrenzy of which enlightened ages have purged history; but that taste, in a particular manner, infected the English. This is evident, from the charge of witchcraft, brought by the whole body of the clergy, against Robert Grosthead, Bishop of Lincoln. That prelate was greatly superior to his contemporaries, in knowledge and abilities: this was his real crime. In those days of ignorance, France had also some bishops who might

have done honour to more enlightened ages. Envy and jealousy played their usual game; but they did not turn against any of those prelates, the arms with which witchcraft and malice supplied them: the Gallican clergy employed them only against the people. The use made of them by the English clergy, against one of their principal members, demonstrated, either, that the spirit of party was more violent in that kingdom than in France, or that the English believed more generally and more firmly in witchcraft than the French.

The freedom of thinking and reasoning, afterwards introduced in England, did not cure even persons of the best understanding of so absurd a credulity. It discovers itself at every turn in the Memoirs of one of the most rational, polished, and sensible English writers, Sir Andrew Melvil, who wrote in the reign of James the First, whose revenues he had long superintended.

He has filled those papers with stories of witches and sorcerers, which he offers as authentic facts to a nation no doubt disposed to believe them. The belief in ghosts is still very prevalent in this country. Hobbes denied that there was in the universe any spirit or substance, distinct from matter; yet to such a degree was he afraid of spirits, that he could not bear to be by himself in a room with the door shut.

Isaac Vossius, who may be said to have become an Englishman by a residence of twenty years in that kingdom, joined to the superciliousness of a free-thinker the credulity of an old woman. Full of doubts concerning revelation, he believed implicitly all the stories told by travellers with regard to China and other foreign countries: "This learned Doctor," said Charles II., speaking of Vossius, "is a very surprising man; he believes every thing but the Bible."

Thus the change in the way of thinking

of the English, with regard to an infinite number of objects, seems to have paid respect to the most ridiculous prejudices, as being deeply rooted in the national character of that people. The blind enthusiasm of the three kingdoms for miracles, for the prophecies of the sorcerer Merlin, and for all the pious and political revelations occasioned by imposture and interest, have been survived by a servile attachment to a thousand little superstitions, which Steele and Addison have combatted to very little purpose.

LETTER LXI.

Character and Conduct of English Ladies—Scolding Women—Punishment of the Ducking-stool derived from the Normans—Police of Rouen—Consciousness of Beauty in English Ladies—Their Negligence in Dress—Fine Shapes—Judicious Treatment of Children—The Girdle of Venus—Costume of Catherine de Medicis.

London.

THE fair sex, in its present state, is just such as one could wish it to be. They participate in the seriousness of the nation. This renders them sedentary, attaches them to their husbands and to their children. Most of them, I observe with pleasure, nurse their own infants. All appearance of intimacy between the two sexes disappears in public, and in those assemblages where persons belonging to different families congregate.—When dinner is terminated, the women retire;

the wine is then put upon the table, and the guests enter into conversation. The ladies accompany the mistress of the house to her apartment, where they entertain themselves in conversation. At the grand assemblies, play is the only thing that unites both sexes. If they meet only to converse, the women, generally speaking, place themselves near the door, and leave the upper end of the apartment, and all the conversation, to the men.*

English ladies, in the most mild and gentle tone, and with an air of indifference, coldness, and languor, exercise a power, equally despotic, over both husbands and lovers; a power the more permanent, as it is established and supported by a complaisance and submissiveness from which they seldom depart. *Hæc sunt illarum veneficia.* These are their love-potions.

* The present state of English society enables both natives and foreigners, with pride and pleasure to exclaim, "*tempora mutantur, et nos mutamur in illis.*"—Ed.

It would appear that scolding women are so seldom to be found, that, by ancient custom amongst the lower class of people, severe punishment was inflicted upon those dames who followed the example of the wife of Socrates.

It is well known that a virago was suspended in a chair, over a place filled with water, and obliged to undergo the discipline of ducking. This chair was called a *ducking* (or *cucking*) *stool;* and there can be no doubt but the English received this custom from their Norman ancestors. In the ancient regulations of the police of Rouen, there is an express law for the ducking of scolds:— "*Si fœmina convincatur esse litigiosa, et maledica, alligabitur fune subter axillis et ter in aquam projicietur.*"—If a woman be convicted of being quarrelsome, and guilty of slander, let a rope be tied under her arms, and then let her be three times ducked in water.—*Charta Comm. Rothom. Recueil des Ordonnances, par M. de Lauriere.*

So sensible are the English ladies of their beauty, that they neglect their dress, and are not over-solicitous in adorning their persons. A lady, when at home, wears a *deshabille.* If she happen to make her appearance in St. James's Park, it is in a short gown, a long apron, and a hat; and she is attended by a waiting-maid, as well dressed as herself. This neglect of dress may be attributed to the fact, that most ladies spend a great part of the year in the country, where silks and satins are never worn; and this habit of simplicity they bring with them to town: but, at the public assemblies, they are decked out in all their finery, and diamonds and lace are to be seen in great profusion.

A good shape is to be met with amongst all classes of English females. This is probably owing to the free and easy manner in which the bodies of children of the present generation have been formed, and the little use made of swaddling clothes, or constraint

of any sort. Instead of that armour of whalebone, still used in France, they adopt, in England, a sort of whalebone waistcoat, which just reaches to the breast, and has no other effect than that of keeping the body in a slight compression. Two ribbands, from the fore to the hind part, keep it on, without bridling or putting any constraint upon the shoulders. When in *deshabille*, these ribbands generally falling upon the arms, the upper part of the body, disengaged from every sort of ligature, receives, and is benefitted by, the overplus of nourishment which the compression of the lower part distributes to it; whence result the attraction and beauty of the shape. These stays are the *cestus*, which form a part of the dress of the Grecian goddesses and virgins, in ancient monuments —the celebrated girdle of Venus.

The English ladies, conscious of their beautiful forms, could never be prevailed upon to adopt that dress which Catherine

of Medici had introduced into France, and which was in the form of a fishing net. It completely enwrapped the whole body, up to the chin; the neck itself was surrounded with a ruff. This dress soon became quite fashionable with the women of Paris.

The children of the other sex enjoy, from the cradle, the same liberty: the people do not distrust nature with regard to their offspring; and she amply rewards the confidence they place in her care and assistance.

They are mostly well shaped; and there are very few deformed or humpbacked children to be seen in London.

LETTER LXII.

Speeches of John Wilkes and William Pitt, on the Admission of the latter to the Freedom of the City of London.

London.

Mr. Wilkes has been kind enough to give me a copy of the speech he made on the 28th of February, on administering the oath to Mr. Pitt, when the latter was admitted to the freedom of the city of London.

" Sir, I give you joy, and I congratulate the city of London, on the important acquisition it has this day made. I reckon, it, Sir, among the most fortunate events of my life, that I have the honor of being directed by the unanimous resolution of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, to enroll your name, in the archives of this metropolis, among those princes and heroes who have been the benefactors of our country and the friends of mankind, with the glorious deliverer of this nation, with the hero of Culloden, with the illustrious statesman from whom you derive your descent.

" The city of London, Sir, with pride and exultation

now behold revived in the Son, those solid virtues, those shining talents, and that powerful eloquence, which they long admired in the Father; but, above all, that generous love of our country, and its divine constitution, superior to the groveling, sordid views of private self interest or personal ambition.

"You have, Sir, thus early in your ministerial career, commanded the esteem and admiration of the city and nation, by a noble act of disinterestedness in favour of the public, for which I believe you scarcely could find a precedent; nor, I fear, will you be imitated by any future minister.

"We look up, Sir, to that superior ability and purity of public virtue which distinguish you, for the reformation of many abuses, as well as the steady protection of our chartered rights, property, and freedom. The administration of your noble father gave us security at home, carried the glory of this nation to the utmost height abroad, and extended the bounds of the empire to countries where the Roman eagle never flew. A late administration undertook an unjust and wicked war, which dismembered the empire by depriving us of our most valuable colonies, and has almost brought us to the brink of bankruptcy. To restore this kingdom to any degree of prosperity and greatness demands the utmost exertions of virtue and ability, with every support both of the crown and the people at large. I hope you will meet with both; and I know how high you stand in the confidence of the public. Much is to be done; but

you have youth, capacity, and firmness. It is the characteristic of a true patriot never to despair; and we have a well grounded hope of your making us again a great, powerful, happy, and united people, by a steady, uniform, wise, and disinterested conduct. Your noble father, Sir, annihilated party; and I hope you will, in the end, beat down and conquer the hydra of faction which now rears its hundred heads against you. I remember his saying, *that, for the good of the people, he dared to look the proudest connections of the country in the face.* I trust that the same spirit animates his son; and, as he has the support of the crown and the people, I am fairly persuaded that the same success will follow."

Mr. Pitt's answer.

"I BEG to return you my best thanks for your very obliging expressions. Nothing can be more encouraging to me in the discharge of my public duty, than the countenance of those who, from this day, I may have the honour of calling my fellow-citizens."

LETTER LXIII.

Collections for a Work on the British Constitution—Different Opinions—Audi alteram partem.

London.

My friend, the Bishop, knowing that I am collecting materials for a work on the British Constitution—knowing that every thing connected with the land of liberty is particularly interesting to me—has not only given me a list of all those works which I am now perusing, but he has also introduced me to several gentlemen who are learned in the law—men distinguished by the active part they take in politics—men whose opinions are quite at variance with those of my learned friend. But I shall follow his advice, and take for my rule the *audi alteram partem*—the only mode of coming at the truth.

One of these gentlemen has communicated

his ideas to me, and, although I have but an imperfect knowledge of what exists in this place, from what I have seen, heard, and read, I am inclined to entertain similar views with respect to such topics.

Our little *coterie* would give you a fair idea of what is passing in the houses of parliament. Whatever subject is started—some supposed beneficial alteration in the constitution of the country—is sure to meet with violent opposition. Opinions clash, and elicit truth. You will be able, after perusing some of the following letters, to answer Linguet with something like a knowledge of the subject. This man's optics are impaired; there is an obliquity of vision and of mind in his composition.

LETTER LXIV.

Absorbing Influence of the Crown.—The King's Will, the Law—Easier for the King to destroy the Liberty of the Press, than to wrest a Cottage from its Owner—Richness of the State, and Poverty of the People—Luxury of the Age—Public Wealth founded on Private Profusion.

London.

THE soul of the British government is influence: the Crown visibly absorbs the power of the whole legislature by influence; she possesses the executive in right; and every man who attends to parliamentary affairs, must perceive, that the votes of both houses are always at command. The real government of this country is, therefore, different from the apparent. The King's Ministers are certain of being able to carry every point they desire; the King's will is the law. A Frenchman will then naturally

inquire, what difference, in this case, exists between the English constitution and the French government; he will say, "Your King does what he likes through your parliament; ours does the same without the parliament; now, where is the difference to the people?"—The answer is, "You know not how many points the King wants to carry; but his friends will not support him in them, and consequently they never come before parliament." This idea lets us into the secret of the constitution; the King's power is absolute in all matters which will not too greatly shock the prejudices and inclinations of the people.

As to the power of the purse, which, we are told, includes all other power, he is as absolute as the King of France; and that, because the people of England are constitutionally accustomed to see all the demands of the Crown granted in parliament.

In general acts, the regal power seems

uncontrolled; in particular ones, it is as limited as in any country in Europe. What I mean is, that the laws that bind the whole people in an equality, are ever in the power of the Crown; but, let the King depart from the general idea, by injuring or killing an individual, he immediately finds his power circumscribed. Thus, it would be easier for him to destroy the liberty of the press at one stroke, or to oppress the whole kingdom by an enormous tax, than to wrest a cottage from its rightful owner. The King can raise twenty millions of money; but he cannot cut off the head of John Wilkes. All general laws are at the power of the Crown; particular actions must bear the stamp of freedom.

The freedom of the press has justly been called the bulwark of liberty; does any one doubt but a minister could carry a vote to subject it to a licencer to-morrow?

They who hesitate to subscribe to the

opinion, that the Crown is in reality all powerful in *general laws*, should consider the present state of influence. We have been told, that the public is poor, but individuals are rich. This seems to be the strangest mistake that could possibly have been made; for the fact is directly contrary: nothing can exceed the poverty of individuals, even those who possess the largest and noblest estates. Whence the universal influence of the Crown, if not from the poverty of the people? It is a luxurious age; every man longing earnestly for the means of rivalling his neighbours; straining every nerve to rise in show, elegance, &c. Fine houses, superb furniture, rich equipages, expensive dress, luxurious feasting, unbounded gaming, and all the modes of lavishing money which were ever practised in the most luxurious ages and countries, are now found amongst persons of large fortunes: they are closely imitated by their

inferiors, until some part of their profusion descends even to the lowest classes. In such a state of things, how should any body be rich? Wants on every hand exceed the power of gratification. All live beyond their fortunes; all are, and, in such a train, must be, poor. To whom should they look for money, which their own industry could never gain, nor their economy save? To him who has three millions annually at his disposal.

While such is the great outline of the nation, how can any one doubt the power of influence?

This universal expense, which so infallibly brings on universal poverty, enriches the public—that is, the King. The alienation, so rapid, in profusion, is in every stage taxed pretty heavily; whence a revenue is raised, great in itself, but greater in its consequences; for, on the credit of what is and what may be, unbounded wealth is raised at will,

and a little kingdom spends more in a twelvemonth than supported the greatest empires during many years. Nor has this arisen from the unnatural exertion of imprudent enterprise—the efforts of folly sinking to debility; it has been genuine strength, often repeated, and yet unexhausted. In a word, it is public wealth founded on private profusion.

When I mention the poverty of individuals, I do not mean that they are unpossessed of estates and money: no, they live in unbounded plenty of both; but the luxurious profusion of the age is so great, that the master of forty thousand a-year is almost a beggar. Relative to the constitution, he is poor; but, as an object by whom the public grows wealthy, he is rich. The wants and dependence, which surely may in that sense be called poverty, are in exact proportion to the quantity of money, and consequent degree of luxury, in the nation.

Adieu, my worthy friend. I have here expressed myself in a style rather bold; but he whose life has been active will be decisive in his speech. Unguarded, perhaps, I have been in this letter; but I give you my real sentiments, with the freedom of a friend.

M.

LETTER LXV.

The Nobility of England the Guardians of the Throne —The Liberty of England fixed and preserved by the Commons — Democratic Power repugnant to Nobility—Policy of the Crown in creating Peers— The House of Lords, in the Reign of Charles, fell from a Want of Property and of Number—Change of Times and Circumstances — Family Pride— Worthlessness of Pedigree— Where are the Descendants of Plato, Socrates, &c.—Descents from Custard-eating Lord Mayors and Northern Barbarians—Immortality of Merit and Genius.

London.

THE nobility of England have been called the guardians of the throne—and with reason. They buried themselves under the ruins of that of Charles I.; and would, in a similar convulsion, act in these days in the same manner.

The liberty of the country was fixed by

the Commons; it will never be preserved by the Nobles; the House of Lords never ventures to show that spirit of freedom, which leads to liberty: oppositions of consequence, and some of that rough violence which accompanies a free people, break out in the House of Commons; ministers are there sometimes hard pushed; but scarcely ever in the House of Lords. It would be a monstrous fact, to see that house pretend to a freedom which they never asserted, and will never defend; that branch of the legislature is, and always will be, devoted to the Crown.

In the day of trouble and dissension, this is not to be wondered at; for nothing is so repugnant to nobility as democratic power: the obedience they pay to an absolute monarch is perfect freedom, compared with the superiority of the Commons.

While the prejudice in favour of the Crown is so strong amongst the English nobility, that in any future day, if disputed,

we may be certain that all their power would be exerted in its favour, what can we think of the immense, lavish, and prodigal manner in which the peerage is bestowed? What are the consequences relative to the safety of the constitution?—The balance of property in the kingdom, from the number of new creations, is inclining strongly to the Lords. This shows the depth of policy in the Crown, which one would have been far enough from looking for, considering the characters of certain persons. All men who gain great riches are advanced to the peerage; in so much, that there are not more than half a dozen capital estates in the kingdom at this day among the Commons. The House of Lords, in Charles's days, fell, from a want of property and number. Some estates amongst them were very large; but the number was so small, that the total bore no comparison with the wealth of the Commons. Yet these few Lords, by the means of their retainers and

followers, rendered the king victorious at the commencement of the quarrel. But how different is the case now! Where is the power to be found, at present, to break the united force of the King and Lords? Never was a case more totally changed. This opinion is hazarded with an eye to the dissolution of that harmony which has for so long a time existed between the orders of the state; but, were a change to happen, the dependents on the Crown and peers, in the House of Commons, would then fill every bench in St. Stephen's.

Hence we may venture to conclude, that all additions to the House of Lords are so many weights thrown into the scale of the Crown; a scale which has proved so loaded, during many years, that there can be little doubt of its outweighing all that can be thrown into its opposite.

It is true, the choice that has been made of men to fill the peerage, has of late years

been remarkably unfortunate, and has brought a ridicule upon the order, which has counteracted some of the ill effects that might possibly have already occurred, had the abilities been equal to the wealth of the body.

Family has, in the latter ages, been strangely neglected; and, it must be confessed, with no slight reason. Merit and money are the only just pleas that can be brought to urge an advancement: the latter is the plea of politics, the former that of reason; but, as to family, what are the descents now boasted of throughout the kingdoms of Europe? Only several removes back into the barbarous ages—mere pretending to be descended from barbarians, Goths, Vandals, and Tartars. The founders of the great houses in Europe were all miserable plunderers, devoid of learning, taste, or wealth; men whose names are scarcely known, and whose actions were contemptible. It should humble the pride of our families, who boast of their long

line of ancestors, to ask them which are descended from Plato, Socrates, Epaminondas, Alexander, or the other Greeks whose names fill the noblest annals of human story. Where are the descendants of Tully, Cato, Cæsar, Pompey, or Augustus? Produce the peer who ranges such names in his pedigree, and I will admit a noble, brave, and generous motive for lordly pride; but, as to the descents of the miserable marauders of the dark ages of wretchedness and barbarism, such a boast should fill us with contempt. One is descended from some custard-eating Lord Mayor—another from a sheriff—a third from a captain of banditti, under the bastard William; and, if a name have any similarity to that of some ruined hovel in Normandy, it is, by the tribe of pedigree makers, produced as an unerring proof of the great man's descent from the savages of the north who overran France. Go into every country in Europe, you see the same despicable origin

of families; all are sprung from the Goths, Vandals, and other barbarous invaders of the Roman empire; or from sources equally despicable in the east.

Not one can prove a lineal descent from any of the heroes of antiquity: all, all are the posterity of nations, which, but a few ages ago, were savages.

This is the pride of family. But few of our nobles can carry their descent so high as the Conquest; not many so far back as three hundred years; and, in general, they pretend only to spring from the rabble of yesterday. Were they all clear in the line, from the slaves of Rollo and William, where is the honour? Who were the founders of their family? Were they men whose names stand forward in the lists of fame?

For these reasons—which I must own make me regard with great contempt the pretences to family so common in this country—I think merit is the only rational founder of a family.

The first of a noble line should be a man whose fame renders him immortal, without any addition in the power of princes to bestow: from such men, all should be, and are, proud of descending, whether they flourished last year or ten centuries ago. The immortality which great merit or great genius bestows is superior to all nobility: the names of Bacon, Shakspeare, Milton, and Newton, will increase in lustre, when the whole House of Lords, their ancestors and descendants, are buried in oblivion. Long after a barbarous age shall intervene, and obliterate all the traces of family, issues, descents, and all the rubbish of heraldry, their names will go down to distant and refined periods, and be pronounced with rapture by every tongue.

These are notions very incongruous with the modern spirit of nobility!

Adieu! We shall not be far asunder in our ideas.

M.

LETTER LXVI.

Spirit of Modern Patriotism—Patriotism of the Ancients—Men, not Measures, the Objects of Attack in the Present Day— Patriots and Orators always to be bought.

London.

WHAT is the spirit of modern patriotism? I can form no idea of such a virtue exerting itself in the British constitution: all the explanations, harangues, and flights of imagination, which have been jumbled together to form that imaginary monster of perfection called a patriot, are but an unintelligible jargon. They are Grecian or Roman ideas in an English dress: patriots rise up like mushrooms: we have always the patriot of the day, like the favourite player. It is the nature of our government to produce these heroes of politics; the occasion produces the

character; a pretence to the famed virtue is the road to corruption, and marks a man as one who wants only a bidder that will rise to his price.

If we reflect on the history of the men who, in this country, have figured in the character of patriots, we shall be convinced that they made the pretence of the virtue a mere ladder to mount higher in office and wealth — a mere mask to their ambition.

The patriotism of the ancients had even a military, a savage fierceness in it, which seemed essential to its being. Indeed, it is a virtue which required a wild and daring cast of thought, generally measuring the welfare of the state, not against a cold, temperate resistance of temptation, a moderation of sentiment, or the dictates of philosophic reflections; but against life itself: friends, kindred, family, all were to be sacrificed at the shrine of their country. Patriotism and death were ever hand in hand: it was a

ferocity in the mind nearly allied to fury; nothing calm or temperate. The man was hurried away by the impulse of a violent passion, rather than urged by the calls of reason; hence arose an enthusiasm which sometimes burst forth into the noblest actions, and the most exalted sentiments. But as to modern times, and our own country in particular, the constitution of the government destroys the very idea of a patriot. The regularity of all the movements of the state, the nature of the modern art of war, and the universal power of law, have brought every thing to such a standard that we can have no idea of patriotism. What are the rules by which it may be judged? what are the signs by which it may be known? The mob will ever have their patriot; but surely the thinking part of mankind should understand their constitution better than to suppose every man who opposes the court a patriot. The true patriot, if the term be allowed to

express an uncertain idea, must, in such a government as ours, often be in power;—sometimes with the court, sometimes against it; but our patriots always lose their characters when in office, whatever the motive, and can never regain it but by violent opposition.

In short, there is so much nonsense and contradiction in the character of patriots in this kingdom, that the moment any one makes pretences to the virtue, he should on all hands be treated either as a visionary fool or a designing knave. The men amongst us who have, at different times, flourished in this harlequin's jacket, have ever been railers at men rather than at measures. If you would fix an idea to the word patriot, and adapt it to this country, you ought to describe a man in parliament who looks at measures alone, totally forgetting who are the conductors, and who, in all his conduct, both in and out of place, adheres steadily to certain plans

which he thinks favourable to the happiness and liberty of the people.

In an age when the influence of the Crown is too great, and threatens to overturn the constitution, he will not enter into any measures that can add to that influence by the same means that created it. Debts and taxes laid the foundation, throwing into the scale of the Crown a weight unthought of at the Revolution: adding to the debt is increasing taxes, and all their train of consequences, already too formidable to liberty. If, therefore, such a man could exist as a modern patriot, in cold blood, he would see the necessity of adhering to a plan of preventing a further acquisition of riches in the Crown, by raising fresh taxes to pay the interest of new debts.

A patriot must merely think liberty of much more consequence than military success, great trade, naval power, or any such possession; and would consequently never agree

to measures which, in order to gain the latter, could in any degree endanger the former.

Now, we have never found that any of our patriots have conducted themselves on these ideas: they have railed at small expenses, when out of power, and run into large ones the moment they were in place.

But what encouragement, real in the goods of fortune, or imaginary in the opinions of the world, can any man have for turning patriot? If he really mean well, he will possess neither: certainly not the former; and he will lose the latter the moment he may act beyond the ideas of the mob? What glimpse of hope can he have of success? In parliament, the Crown is so strong that an orator may waste a dozen pair of well-toned lungs, before he out-talks the powers of ministerial gold: he has not an Athenian or a Roman mob to harangue, but men whose education just gives them the plea of a systematic defence and apology for the most

glaring venality. How is he to make an impression on the needy sons of extravagance, who have learning enough to be sophists? Can he expect that flowers of rhetoric and flights of fancy shall be weightier than posts and pensions? A place at the board of customs or excise—paymastership—or a contract;—are not these powers beyond the eloquence of a Tully or a Demosthenes?

M.

LETTER LXVII.

Strength and Weakness of Nations—Probability that the Power of England will be more Permanent than that of France or Spain—Union of England and Scotland—Reduction of Ireland—Durability of British Maritime Power—Felicity of the English Constitution—Union of Trade and Agriculture—England the Rising, France the Setting Sun—Conjecture, that England will become the First Power of the Christian World—National Debt—Taxation.

London.

It is an aggregate of a vast number of particulars that forms the power of a country. Wealth, trade, manufactures, agriculture, population, much engagement in war, climate, government, situation, &c., all have a strong effect in rendering kingdoms weak or powerful. Sometimes two or three so strongly combine as to make up the want of

many others. This general aggregate of fortunate circumstances is, upon the whole, strongly in favour of Britain. She has risen to a state of great prosperity by silent, slow degrees; her power is fixed in that prosperity, and the nature of it is such as to bid fair to be of much longer duration than that of either France or Spain.

But, let it not be thought that I am hinting at a probability of universal empire. Her situation alone, were every other circumstance in her favour, would prevent the execution of such a scheme; and this incapacity must have the best effects in securing to her that degree of power to which she may naturally attain.

The union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland, under one king, and the total reduction of Ireland, were the two events which laid the foundation of British power. When arts and commerce animated the northern parts of Europe in general, it was

scarcely possible, from the situation of this island, but that it must become a great trading kingdom. This was a natural event, almost dependent upon situation. The fall of the Spanish monarchy laid the foundation of our naval power, which has never ceased to rise, from the days of Elizabeth to the present hour. The maritime power of England is not the wayward child of an absolute monarch, who determines to be potent on every element; it is the slow, natural growth of more than two hundred years, which has stood many a fierce attack, and weathered many a storm.

Another circumstance which has continued and increased every other advantage, is the peculiar felicity of the English constitution. All the great kingdoms of Europe have lost their liberty except England: liberty has carried her trade, agriculture, manufactures, wealth, and navy, to a pitch to which they could never otherwise have attained.

Another point of vast importance is the uncommon union of trade and agriculture. The amazing commerce of England is equal to that of the most famous states that have been great by commerce alone; and this vast trade has been carried on, not by a knot of unhappy men, like the Dutch, who were forced to be traders or nothing; but by a great landed nation, amongst whom trade enlivened agriculture, and agriculture yielded immense products for trade.

Lastly, the period of these various circumstances coming in full play was at a time when the rival nations had passed the meridian of their grandeur; so that England was the rising, France the setting sun. No other power arose to dispute the palm of equality; she had not then a France succeeding Spain in great power, to draw her off, and waste her strength with fresh contests.

All these are reasons for conjecturing that this country will, in her turn, be the first power

of the Christian world. She cannot aim at universal monarchy, for reasons already mentioned; and that moderation will save her from efforts beyond her strength, and from alliances amongst the rest of Europe to pull down her power. It will, therefore, be more stable, and far more prosperous than that of either France or Spain.

You observe that this view of the affairs of Britain does not take notice of her internal state, particularly her debts, and some other circumstances, which newspaper politicians are always telling us are her ruin. All countries have had their internal evils, which required nothing but the liberty of the press to prove ruinous, long before any ill effect was felt.

The progress of the power of any kingdom in Europe must be examined and ascertained by a general view of its principal transactions amongst the other powers, whose history is consulted, not by examining the opinions and

factions within it, that either exalt it beyond the truth, or depress it far below the real fact. Were these various and transitory assertions to be taken as a guide, we should find Frenchmen pronouncing their country ruined at the peace of Nimeguen; and Spaniards proving that Philip the Second, at the commencement of his reign, was less powerful than the Kings of Castile and Arragon. In England, where the liberty of the press is so great, these impertinences are met with every day; inasmuch that the papers published here, to prove the nation undone, from the Revolution to the present time—that is, in the most prosperous period of the kingdom—would alone fill a large library.

The national debts of this country are certainly very considerable; but it seems preposterous to predict ruin to the state, because the right hand owes to the left; and, as to the debt due to foreigners, it is comparatively light. But, where are the politicians who

will venture to assure us of the impossibility that this kingdom will apply the sponge, and yet presently after borrow again? Much more surprising turns have happened in the history of human affairs.

The power of England is much too great to have any thing to fear from the united force of all her enemies; and they must be shallow politicians who are deceived, by trifling minutiæ, into an opinion that she is in any danger of falling under the power of France.

LETTER LXVIII.

Revenue of England not at its Height—Practicability of Further Taxation, without Injury—Countries the most heavily Taxed are the most Flourishing—Taxes on Property, and on Consumption—Proposed Increase of the Land Tax.

London.

I CANNOT by any means subscribe to your opinion, that the public revenues of England are carried to the utmost height of which they are capable; on the contrary, I apprehend there are several reasons for supposing them capable of great increase, without burthening the people so far as to destroy industry.

There is an uncertainty in every thing that concerns taxation, which is too dark for the acutest genius to clear up. In every country we find it mathematically proved,

that, if another million be raised, the people must be clearly undone. Two or three millions are then levied, and the same prophecy is repeated. The idea that one tax creates an ability in the people to pay another, is very absurd; but it is difficult to say how far taxation may be carried; because, in no country in Europe, where taxes are laid on equally, and with judgment, do they oppress the people; nor is there an instance to be produced of a people ruined by taxes. Other more powerful circumstances must unite; for this is not of sufficient weight to effect the evil. The heaviest taxed countries are the most flourishing in Europe: I do not mistake the cause for the effect, and assert them, therefore, to be the most flourishing; but adduce the fact to show that taxes which, in their extreme, are perfectly consistent with wealth, happiness, and power, cannot have those dreadful effects which some have attributed to them.

Much fault has been found with taxes on property, by an ingenious writer, who urges that every man should pay, not for what he has, but for what he consumes. Possession, it is true, does not, in all cases, imply an ability to pay a tax; but consumption ever does. This reasoning, however, is applicable alone to these taxes on excess—to the revenues of a state being principally raised by such—but not at all to those of Britain; for the land-tax, instead of being greatly burthensome, would certainly admit of increase without any oppression; not by making a changeable tax, varying with circumstances, for that would be fatal to agriculture, but an equal tax, fixed for a long period, and on no account changing the rates.

LETTER LXIX.

Popularity of Princes who patronise Literature and the Fine Arts—Opinion of the Abbé Du Bois controverted—Three Patrons in England; the King, the Nobility, and the Public—Booksellers—Patronage of Charles I. and Oliver Cromwell—Succeeding Sovereigns, till George III., regardless of Writers—Requisite System of Patronage—Hume, Campbell, Horne, and Johnson—Pensions granted by Louis XIV.—Importance of encouraging Literary Men, to prevent Prostitution of Talent—Writers, from Necessity—Publication of Books, by Authors, on their own Account, and by Subscription—Examples of Pope and Churchill—Erroneous Charge against Booksellers—Booksellers to be considered in Two Lights; as treating with Authors of Reputation and Independence, and with those who are dependent on them—Sums received by Littleton, Robertson, Hume, Campbell, Burn, Young, Sterne, &c.—Commerce between Authors and Booksellers—Best mode of compensating Authors.

London.

In all ages of the world, those princes who have gained the greatest reputation were such

as most patronized authors and the arts. Nor is this to be wondered at; for, the gates of the temple of fame being in their custody, it is not surprising that they should most readily admit such as were most favourable to their cause. This patronizing quality amongst princes has even had the effect of charity, to cover a multitude of sins: no white-washer equals the poet or the historian.

The Abbé Du Bois has taken great pains to show, that patronage and encouragement have never done any thing more than reward abilities already confessed,—was never able to create new ones, or even to be the cause of their appearing. The history of the learned ages, both amongst writers and artists, is strangely circumstanced; but it must be admitted, that the rewards which they met with for their first works proved the greatest incentive to them in the production of succeeding ones; and the example brought forth many others, who would, with-

out it, probably never have existed. It is, therefore, by no means just to assert, that patronage and encouragement have done little for learning and arts; since we may naturally attribute much to their influence, and probably more than has been apparent, for profit may have been the instigation to performances which have ended in fame.

There are three patrons in England; the king, the nobility, and the public in general —the booksellers. The two first, to ensure themselves fame, the last, to acquire profit. Some ages have elapsed since the Crown has been the patronizer of literature. Charles the First munificently protected the arts, and Cromwell gave pensions to several useful writers. From his days to the present, there has not been a sovereign who cared twopence whether his subjects abounded with such writers as Pope, Swift, and Addison, or such as Oldmixon, Ralf, and Settle. The present king should, however, be excepted; he has

given more rewards to merit than half-a-score of his predecessors. But a system of patronage requires more than a few pensions to a select party; they should continue to be given, howsoever sparingly, to sustain and excite the emulation of the whole body of writers. Since his present Majesty's accession, several authors of merit have been rewarded. Amongst others, Mr Hume, the historian, who, from a small private fortune, has been raised to affluence by several very lucrative posts. Dr. Campbell, a celebrated politician, and the Reverend Mr. Home, on the credit of his three tragedies, and *a little politics*, have obtained pensions. Dr Johnson has been raised, by the same hand, from a state of comparative poverty to something approaching comfort. These instances, which in general do honour to the royal bounty, are the more remarkable, as his Majesty's predecessors did not set him the example.

This patronage, however, is not exerted

on the same plan as that of Louis XIV. He gave handsome pensions, it is true, to a few great writers, and he also extended his bounty to others, in a smaller degree. Many authors, even on his establishment of literature, enjoyed forty, fifty, eighty, and a hundred pounds a-year, by which there were gradations allowed to merit, that could not but encourage it.

In England, the writers who are in want of such inconsiderable pensions, are too apt to dip into very dirty work, and render themselves obnoxious in politics, not to the court alone, but to all moderate and discerning men.

It may be remarked, that many men of high talent are driven to the press for a subsistence; and if, in consequence, they fall into a prostitution of their abilities, they are often to be pitied rather than condemned. The fault is more in their fortune than in themselves; for the man who lives by his pen, and perhaps but sparingly, must apply it to the

most profitable service. Here should step in royal patronage, to offer examples of reward to those who, in such situations, instead of falling into the lowest views of booksellers, have published with an eye to reputation as well as profit. Men whose necessities lead them to write for bread, should, in the first of their publications that display real talent, be sought out, and, by means of small annuities, kept from an entire dependence on booksellers. Their abilities would ever after be dedicated to subjects, and to exertions, that would probably increase their reputation; and genius which, but for such assistance, would never be known, or entitled to consideration, might thus be rescued from misery, and given with lustre to the world.

Whatever the occasion may be, that brings a man to depend on his literary talents for subsistence, it is probable, that, on entering his career, he will produce some work, the effect of thought and leisure, which may

possess a degree of merit superior to that of his succeeding productions, the efforts of hunger and haste. It surely would be rendering society in general no slight favour, to step in and direct such a man's talents into the channel for producing useful works, instead of letting them fall the prey of a bookseller, to be prostituted to the lowest purposes; and were none to be thus patronized, but such as discovered sterling abilities, the expense would not be considerable.

It is impossible that any man can bring up his children with the view of establishing them in the trade of an author. Accident, or caprice, fills the entire *corps*. Young men of some education, less fortune, and no profession — professors, who are ambitious of shining in the capital instead of their schools; these and many others are brought, by various accidents, to know that profit may be made by writing. Poverty impels them to exert an industry in some pursuit that may preserve

them from low employment, or from servitude, and they commence authors; much are they to be pitied, and hardly to be condemned, even for a succession of meanness, too frequently the offspring of necessity.

Many in the herd deserve encouragement;—or support, to keep them from such a dependence on the pen, as may enable them to take time and choice in their compositions. That there is real genius in this class cannot be doubted; for most of the works of the present age, that will be read in the next with pleasure, and probably exist long as the English language, are the productions of authors who wrote, if not for bread, most certainly for an income.

The public in general may be termed the patron, when authors make their appeal, either in printing by subscription or publishing on their own account. This is much the most liberal mode of rendering a man's literary abilities the means of maintaining him;

for, in this way, the author remains perfectly independent, and is pretty certain of being encouraged proportionably to his merit. This was the method that Pope took to raise an income; and Churchill practised it with great success.

The idea, that books printed for authors seldom have fair play, through combinations of booksellers, is not just, except with reference to works of small value. Such combinations would be able to prevent the sale of an indifferent work, but could never materially injure that of one whose merit might be really great. The public will have good books, in spite of twenty traders.

As to subscriptions, they have fallen into discredit, because they have been resorted to for worthless books — mere jobs to raise contributions, without a pretence to merit; but, when an author, for some time successfully known to the public, proposes a subscription, he generally, in this country, meets with a beneficial one.

As to booksellers, they must be considered in two lights: first, in treating with authors of considerable reputation, who have other means of support besides the pen; and secondly, with those whose absolute dependence is on their writings. With the former, they are by far the most munificent patrons that the learned meet with in this country. It is true, that the purchases of the public form the foundation of this munificence; but still the spirit and activity with which the booksellers prosecute their trade, induce a much greater sale than otherwise would be obtained, and enable them to assign to the author more considerable emoluments for his manuscript.

What sums have been received by a Littleton, a Robertson, a Hume, a Campbell, a Burn, a Young, a Sterne, &c.? Sums which have amounted in value to a moderate pension from the Crown; and this is a species of encouragement not to be found in many other countries, where literature is much cultivated.

This patronage of the booksellers—or, more properly speaking, this trade between them and authors—leaves the latter perfectly independent of the former, as the sale is of a commodity which, if one does not buy, another will. The author also enjoys a considerable advantage, without being indebted either to the Crown, or to the great; in a word, depending merely on his own merit and the favour of the public. This is a situation full of charms to a high spirited genius, wishing to rely upon itself, not upon others; and must give to its possessor energy to exert all his talents in producing works that shall, at the same time increase his fame, and add to his profit. Of all methods of an author's being recompensed, this is the most honourable, and, to him, the most safe, easy, and independant.

LETTER LXX.

Patronage of Literary Men, by the Nobility, in the Reign of Queen Anne—Somers, Oxford, and Bolingbroke—Authors, both Whig and Tory, countenanced and rewarded—The Case is altered—A Hit—Princes Inexcusable in not protecting and rewarding Men of Genius—Policy of following the Examples of Augustus and Louis XIV.

London.

In the reign of Queen Anne, there were several noblemen, whose merit as patrons was undeniably great. At the head of these was Lord Somers, who never neglected any opportunity of promoting and rewarding writers of merit. He had great discernment, and no less benevolence and humanity. He found out authors of genius, howsoever obscured by narrow circumstances, and never failed to use every means to enrich and encourage them.

The succeeding ministry of Lords Oxford

and Bolingbroke made, by encouraging men of letters, some amends for the political mischiefs they brought upon their country. To their honour we must allow, that the learned, both Whigs and Tories, were countenanced, and many of them amply rewarded, for their abilities in the republic of letters.*

* From the first administration of William Pitt, to that of Earl Grey, inclusive, the general system has been to silence enemies, not to encourage or reward friends. When in power, both Whigs and Tories hate *honest* literary men, in their hearts: they *hate* them because they *fear* them. Some, who might be named, have more than tacitly admitted this; and, in private, few have hesitated to allow, that they would rather bribe a literary opponent—purchase, or reward, his silence—than generously patronize an honest supporter. Where is the encouragement—where is the patronage—where are the rewards that have been conferred upon the literary men of talent, who have conscientiously devoted their lives, as it were, in advocating principles—principles and measures, rather than men? What countenance was ever extended to men of literature, by a certain *parvenu*, recently flourishing in the insolence of place and power—though, by a lucky chance for him, that

Kings and princes are inexcusable when they do not protect and reward men of genius. Let them reflect on the characters of Augustus and Louis the Fourteenth. Could any thing but the encouragement of

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place and that power arose out of electioneering squibs, and versification of only a minor grade of merit? *Qui capit ille facit.*

The Tories—or, as they are now pleased to designate themselves, the Conservatives—have neither the spirit nor the integrity, the honour nor the patriotism, effectually to uphold, or honestly to reward, the principles which they profess to inherit.

And what have the Whigs done, since *their* accession to power? The gratification and enrichment of *family connexions* is not, of course, alluded to in this question. His late Majesty, George IV., who, whatever might be his failings or his faults, was "every inch a king," established a Royal Society of Literature. Emanating from this institution were a few pensions—four, if we recollect right—of 100*l.* a-year each, to Sharon Turner, the historian, Coleridge, the poet, and some others. One of the earliest acts of the present reign was to stop these pensions! And this, too, whilst the *Pension List*, with all its hideous enormities, was unblushingly staring the public in its face!—EDITOR.

all ingenuity, of all genius, of all application—could any thing else have gained them such maturity of fame? Their political actions were not only faulty—they were detestable; yet, notwithstanding the blackest traits of character, we find them handed down to us as the greatest of monarchs. This is the result of well rewarding those who alone can confer immortality. Surely, therefore, monarchs should, through self-interest, if from no other motive, award liberal encouragement to the arts, sciences, and literature, as an unerring road to that fame which is so flattering even to them.

M.

LETTER LXXI.

Hatsel's Observations on the House of Commons—Ludicrous Orders of the House—Strictness of Onslow, the Speaker—Amusing Anecdote—Consequence of "naming a Member."

London.

HATSEL'S observations on the House of Commons are extremely curious. Some of the regulations concerning this representative *corps* descend to a degree of minuteness seemingly inconsistent with the dignity of a senate-house; but they were probably not established without consideration, or without necessity. In an assembly consisting of men of the first fashion and fortune in the country, it might be thought superfluous, if not insulting to the parties who composed it, to imagine such instances of indecorum as the following, could require to be restrained by positive, specific orders of the House:—

"Members speaking impertinently, or beside the question; 28th June, 1604.

"Using unmannerly or indecent language against the proceedings of the House; 13th and 16th February, 1606; 9th May, 1626; 27th May, 1641; and the 7th Dec., 1666.

"Or against particular members; 7th, 8th, 9th of May, 1621; the 6th of August, 1625.

"Using the king's name irreverently, or to influence the debate; the 5th of March, 1557; the 4th of May, 1624; the 5th of April, 1715.

"Hissing or disturbing a member in his speech; the 20th June, 1604, and the 8th of February, 1720.

"Taking books or papers from the table, or writing there, to the great interruption of the clerks; 3d of April, 1677, and 25th of March, 1697.

"Walking up and down the House, standing on the floor, in the gangways, or in the gallery; 10th February, 1698, and the 16th of February, 1720.

"Crossing between the chair and a member that is speaking, or between the chair and the mace, when the mace is off the table."

The reason which the venerable old speaker, Onslow, assigned for observing these rules with strictness, is ingenious, and places a common subject in an uncommon point of view. At the same time, it gives a degree

of political importance to what would otherwise appear rather to belong to the duty of a master of the ceremonies, or the theory of a dancing master, than the gravity of a great speaker. "He used to repeat it as a maxim which he had often heard, when he was a young man, from old, experienced members, 'That nothing tended more to throw power into the hands of administration, and those who acted with the majority of the House of Commons, than a neglect of, or departure from, these rules: that the forms of proceeding, as instituted by our ancestors, operated as a check and control in the actions of ministers, and that they were in many instances a shelter and protection to the minority against the attempts of power.'"

So far observes Hatsel. The maxim is certainly true, and is founded in good sense; that, as it is always in the power of the majority, by their numbers, to stop any improper measures proposed on the parts of their oppo-

nents, the only weapons by which the minority can defend themselves against similar attempts from those in power, are in the forms and rules of proceeding which have been adopted, as they were found necessary from time to time, and are become the standing orders of the House; and from the strict adherence to which the weaker party can only be protected from those irregularities and abuses which these forms were intended to check, and which the wantonness of power is but too often apt to suggest to large and successful majorities.

I remember a story of Mr. Onslow, which they who ridiculed his strict observation of form were fond of telling:—That he often, upon a member's not attending to him, but persisting in any disorder, threatened to name him—"Sir! Sir! I must name you!" On being asked what would be the consequence of putting that threat into execution, and *naming* a member? he answered—"The Lord in heaven knows!" Whence they col-

lected, that it was nothing but a threatening expression of his own, that would have no consequence at all. He might have referred them to the Journal of the 5th of May, 1641, or of the 22nd of January, 1693, where they would have found, that, if the Speaker be compelled to name a member, such member will thereby incur the displeasure and censure of the House.

M.

LETTER LXXII.

Rousseau's Emile—Sequel to that Work, by Rousseau himself—Concluding Lines of Emile—The Sequel.

London.

I HAD been perusing, for the second time, ROUSSEAU'S *Emile*; and, having made some remarks on the subject, Romilly informed me that he had just seen, at Emsley's, a manuscript, said to be a continuation of that celebrated work—a sequel—by Rousseau himself, and found amongst his papers after his death. Jean Jacques terminates his fourth volume by the marriage of Emile and Sophie. The peculiar education they have both received leaves the reader in a state of certainty as to their future happiness; the last page terminates thus:—

"At the expiration of a few months, Emile came one morning into my room, and, em-

bracing me, said—'My dear master, congratulate your child; he will soon have the honour to be a father. How many cares will be imposed upon our zeal, and how much we shall stand in need of you! God forbid, that you should be obliged to bring up the son, after having educated the father! So holy and agreeable a duty must be fulfilled by me; and may I direct him as well as I have been directed by you! But, remain the teacher of the young teachers. Advise us, govern us, we will be docile. As long as I live I shall stand in need of you; I shall want you more than ever, now I am performing the duties of a man. You fulfilled yours; guide my steps, and let me imitate you; and now repose, it is time you should.'"

What will you say when you have read the sequel? M.

On drawing near to the capital,* my mind was filled

* Paris.

with fatal impressions, such as I have never before experienced. The most gloomy prepossessions arose in my bosom. All *I* had seen, all *you* had told me of great cities, made me tremble for my abode here. I was terrified at the idea of exposing so pure a union to so many surrounding dangers. I trembled to think, on beholding the melancholy Sophia, that I was precipitating so many charms, and so much virtue, into that gulf of prejudice and vice, where innocence and happiness are sure to be shipwrecked. Certain, however, of her and of myself, I despised, contemned the remonstrances of prudence, and looked on my fears as groundless: while I suffered them to torment me, I considered them as illusions. Alas! I did not expect to see them so soon, and so cruelly, verified! I little imagined, that, instead of finding danger in the capital, it followed me thither.

How shall I tell you of the two years we have remained in this fatal city, and the cruel effect which this infectious residence has had on my mind, and on my fortunes? You know too well those sad calamities, the remembrance of which, effaced by happier days, now doubles my sorrow, by taking me back to their source. What a change was wrought in me, through my weakness, which habit began to change into friendship, towards two agreeable connections! How did example and imitation, against which you have so strongly armed my mind, give it insensibly a taste for those frivolous pleasures, which, when younger, I had despised?

How different is it to see things by themselves, and when our minds are distracted with other objects? The time was now past when my glowing imagination, regardless of all the world besides, alone desired Sophia. I was no longer solicitous about her; I possessed her; and the power of her charms cast a lustre on those objects which, in my youth, it had obscured. But these objects soon weakened my desires, by dividing them. My heart, gradually relaxed by frivolous amusements, insensibly lost its first spring, and became incapable of warmth or strength. I roved restlessly from pleasure to pleasure; I sought after every thing, and grew tired of every thing; I liked only those places where I was not, and endeavoured to forget myself in dissipation. I experienced a revolution, of which I wished not to be convinced myself. I did not give myself time to return to myself, through a dread of not finding myself. All my attachments were lessened, all my affections were cooled. I had substituted a jargon of morality and sentiment in place of truth. I was a gallant without passion, a stoic without virtue, a philosopher busied about trifles. I had nothing of Emilius but the name—some professions of what he once had been.

The freedom of my discourse, the independence of my spirit, my pleasures, my duties—you, my son—even Sophia herself,—all that before animated, that elevated my soul, and constituted the plenitude of my existence, quitting me by degrees, seemed to make me quit

myself, and left in my depraved mind only a painful, wearing sensation of vacancy and abjection. In a word, I no longer loved, or, at least, thought so. This violent flame, which seemed almost extinct, lay hidden under the embers only to blaze forth shortly with more fury than ever.

But—for it is infinitely more inconceivable—how came it that she, who had been the pride and happiness of my life, now formed its shame and desperation? How shall I describe so deplorable a change? No! the dreadful story shall never come from my mouth, or my pen: it is too injurious to the best of wives; too grievous, too horrible for my recollection; too discouraging to virtue; I should die a hundred times over before I could finish it. Morality of the world, ye snares of vice and example, treachery of false friendship, inconstancy and weakness of humanity, which of us is proof against you? Oh! if Sophia have sullied her nature, what woman dare rely upon hers? But, what a soul must that have been, which, having such a height to fall, was able to recover itself!

It is of your regenerated children that I am about to speak to you: all their errors have been known to you; I shall speak only of what regards their return to virtue, and is necessary to throw light on the story of their repentance.

Sophia, consoled, or rather dissipated in mind by her female friend, and by the society into which she had led her, had no longer a decided taste for private life

and retirement. She forgot all she had lost, and almost all that was left her. Her son, as he grew up, became less dependent on her; and she, by degrees, learned to be happy without him. I was myself no longer her Emilius: I was but her husband; and the husband of a fashionable woman, in great cities, is a man whom she treats in public with all possible respect and attention, but whom she sees not in private. Our society was, for a considerable time, the same: it changed insensibly. Each of us hoped to be more at ease when at a distance from each other's observation. We were no longer one—we were two distinct persons. The tyranny of fashion had divided us, and our hearts sought no reunion. We never saw each other but when our country neighbours, or town friends, brought us together.

The wife—one of the parties to whom I have alluded—after several advances, which I had sometimes no small difficulty in resisting, was at length disgusted; and attaching herself entirely to Sophia, they became inseparable. The husband passed much of his time in company with his wife, and, consequently, with Sophia. Their exterior deportment was regular and decorous; but their maxims ought to have alarmed me. Their harmony proceeded less from a real attachment, than from a mutual indifference to the duties of their state. Little jealous of their reciprocal rights, they pretended that their love was the greater, as they imposed less restraint on each other; and neither was offended, in not being the object of the other's attention.

"Above all (said the wife) let my husband live happily." —"Provided my wife be my friend, I am contented (said the husband) — our sentiments," continued he, "do not depend on ourselves, but our actions do; each contributes as much as possible to the happiness of the other. Can we better show our love for those who are dear to us, than by agreeing to all they desire? We avoid the cruel necessity of flying from each other."

This system, abruptly exposed, ought to have shocked us. But it is not easy to imagine what power the overflowings of friendship have in reconciling us to things which would otherwise disgust us; nor how much a philosophy, so well adapted to the vices of human nature, —a philosophy which, instead of those affections we are no longer capable of entertaining—instead of that inward duty which torments, but benefits no one —presents nothing but politeness, respect, complaisance, attention —nothing but freedom, liberty, sincerity, confidence: it is not easy, I say, to imagine what charms everything that maintains a union between the persons, when the hearts are no longer united, has for the best dispositions, and how attractive it becomes under the mask of propriety.

Reason would with difficulty defend herself, were not Conscience to come to her aid. It was this that made Sophia and me display the appearance of a fondness, which we felt not. Our two friends, who had subjugated us, quarrelled without restraint, and thought they loved one another. But an habitual respect, which we

could not lay aside, made it impossible for us to give mutual pain without shunning each other. Though we appeared to be a burthen to each other, we were nearer to a reconciliation than those who were always together. Not to quiet one another when in anger, is a sure symptom of eternal disunion.

But, when our disunion was most evident, every thing changed in the most extraordinary manner possible. Sophia suddenly became as sedentary and retired as she had before been dissipated. Her temper, naturally unequal, became continually sad and gloomy. Shut up from morning till night in her chamber, without speaking, without weeping, without regarding any one, she could not bear to be interrupted. Even her female friend became insupportable to her: she told her so, and gave her an ill reception, but without preventing her return. She besought me, more than once, to deliver her from her. I quarrelled with her for this caprice, which I attributed to jealousy. I even told her so, one day in jest. "No, Sir! I am not jealous," answered she, with a cold and decided air; "but I detest that woman, and all I ask of you is that I may never see her."

Struck with these words, I desired to know the cause of her hatred. She refused to answer me. She had already refused admittance to the husband; I was obliged to treat the wife in the same manner, and we saw them no more.

Her melancholy, however, continued, and became alarming. I began to be disturbed by it; but how

should I discover the cause, which she persisted in concealing? I could not pretend to dictate to so haughty a soul: we had ceased, for so long a time, to be the confidents of each other, that I was but little surprised that she disdained to unbosom herself to me. I found it necessary to merit her confidence; and whether her afflicting melancholy had rekindled an extinguished passion, or that the flame had only awaited an opportunity to blaze out afresh, I perceived that no great effort was necessary on my part, to show her all the attentions by which I hoped to overcome her silence.

I quitted her no more. But it was in vain that I returned to her, and marked my return with the most tender anxiety. With sorrow I perceived that I made no progress. I attempted to resume the privileges of a husband, which I had too long renounced: I encountered the most invincible opposition;—no longer those stimulating denials which enhance the value of a favour to be conceded, nor the modest, though determined refusals which, while I was compelled to respect them, intoxicated me with love. They were the serious repulses of a decided mind, which considers doubt as an insult.

She reminded me, with vehemence, of engagements formerly entered into in your presence. "However it may be," said she, "with regard to me, you should set a proper value on yourself, and respect for ever the promise of Emilius. My faults do not authorise you to violate your own promises. You may punish me, but you cannot force me; and be assured * * * * *."

What could I answer, what could I do, but endeavour to move her, to soften her, to conquer her obstinacy by perseverance? These vain efforts at once excited my love and wounded my pride. Difficulties inflamed my heart, and I made it a point of honour to surmount them. Never, perhaps, after ten years of marriage, and after so long an estrangement, did the passion of a husband blaze forth with greater violence. Never, during the first ardour of my passion, did I shed so many tears at her feet: yet all was in vain—she remained inexorable.

Knowing that this inflexibility of heart was not natural to her, I was as much surprised as afflicted; yet I was not disheartened; and, if I did not overcome her obstinacy, I imagined I saw in it less aversion. Some signs of sorrow and pity tempered the bitterness of her manner; I sometimes thought it was with pain that she regarded her own conduct. From her languid eyes occasionally fell looks not less sorrowful, but less wild, and which seemed to indicate compassion. My thought was, that a sense of shame for such excessive caprice had rendered her obdurate, and deprived her of the power of excuse. Opportunity might not have been favourable to her sensitive delicacy of feeling.

Struck with an idea which flattered my affection, I gave myself up to it with transport. It was the intense aim of my soul to pay her such devoted attention as should relieve her from all pain of even an apparent concession. I had neglected her; therefore, it was for

me to make atonement. At length I had the happiness to perceive that she was moved by the tenderness of my caresses. My transport was but that of a moment. Suddenly changing her air and whole deportment, she thrust me from her with inexpressible violence and agitation; and, regarding me with an eye, which fury and despair rendered dreadful, she exclaimed —"Hold, Emilius! and know that I am no longer yours; another * * * I am * * * our persons * * * !" And rushing with impetuosity into her chamber, she closed the door.

I remained confounded. * * *

* * * My friend, this is not the history of the events of my life; they are little worthy of being related; it is the history of my passions, of my feelings, of my ideas. Suffer me to speak at large of the most terrible revolution that ever my heart experienced.

The greater wounds of the mind, as well as of the body, do not bleed the moment they are given; nor is the pain they occasion immediately felt; to sustain their violence, nature collects all her force.

At this burst of agitated feeling — these horrific words, which my ears seemed to shut out—I remained motionless, annihilated; my eyes closed, a deadly cold ran through my veins; without fainting, all my senses were benumbed, my faculties suspended; — universal anarchy reigned in my mind, like the chaotic aspect of a rapidly changing scene in the theatre, when one

range of objects disappears to give place to a new creation.

I am ignorant how long I remained in this state, on my knees, and without daring to move, lest I should discover that all which had happened was not a dream. Oh, that this state of stupefaction had lasted for ever!

On my first partial restoration to sense, my feeling was that of inexplicable horror for every thing that surrounded me. I arose—rushed out of the room—down stairs—without seeing any thing—without speaking to any one. I was in the street, and, with hasty strides—with the rapidity of a stag, which seeks to avoid, by his velocity, the dart he carries buried in his side—I stopped not till I reached the centre of a public garden. The sight of day, and of the heavens, was a burthen to me; I sought for darkness beneath the trees, and, exhausted—panting for breath—I fell, half dead, upon the grass.

"Where am I? What is become of me? What have I heard? What a catastrophe? Madman! What a chimera have you followed? Love, honour, faith, virtue—what is become of you? The elevated, the noble Sophia, is nothing but a ————!"

This exclamation, extorted by despair, was followed by agonies of mind so acute, that, choaked with my sobs, my breath and utterance remained suspended.

Had it not been for the storm of passion that followed, this agony would have suffocated me. Oh, who could express that conflict of feelings which shame

love, rage, sorrow, pity, jealousy, raised all at once in my mind! No! such a situation—such a war of passions—cannot be described.

The intoxication of extreme joy, which, by a uniform progression, seems to dilate, and, as it were, rarefy our whole being, we easily conceive; but, when excessive anguish assembles, in the breast of a single wretch, all the furies of hell—when, wounded on every side by a thousand different stings, he feels all, without being able to distinguish any—when, torn a hundred different ways, by a hundred different cords—multiplied in his sufferings, he seems to lose the unity of his being, and every single torment racks an entire existence.

Such was my situation, and such it remained during several hours. How shall I picture it to you? Volumes would be inadequate to describe the sufferings of every single instant. Happy mortals! you, whose narrow and frozen minds are insensible to all but the vicissitudes of fortune, undisturbed by every passion but the desire of gain, may you ever consider this dreadful state as a fiction, and never experience the cruel torments which the disunion of more worthy attachments occasions in hearts capable of feeling them.

Our powers are bounded, and all violent emotions have their intervals of cessation and rest. In one of those moments of suspension, when nature prepares herself for new sufferings, suddenly I thought of my youth—of you, my friend—of your instructions. I recollected that I was a man, and I asked myself immediately what

injury had I suffered in my person? What crime had I committed? What part of myself had I lost? If, at that moment, I were to fall, such as I was, from the clouds, to commence my existence, could I consider myself an unhappy being?

This reflection, quicker than lightning, illumined my mind for an instant. I soon lost its light; but it had been sufficient to discover me to myself. I saw myself clearly in my place. The use I made of this moment of reason, was to find that I was incapable of reasoning. The dreadful agitation that reigned in my mind, prevented me from taking notice of any object. I was not in a condition to see any thing, to compare, to deliberate, to resolve, to judge. All attempts, therefore, to discover by deliberation, what was best to be done, would have been but useless torment; they would have aggravated my sufferings to no purpose, and my only care was to gain time, that I might compose my senses, and settle my imagination.

I believe this is all that you yourself could have advised, had you been present to instruct me. Determined to let the fury of those passions, which I could not overcome, subside, I set about this resolution with a sort of voluptuous desperation, as having removed all the obstacles to my grief.

I arose with precipitation—I proceeded to walk, as before, without following any determinate path;—I ran —I wandered in different directions—I gave up my body to all the agitation of my mind;—I followed its

suggestion without restraint—I ran myself out of breath, and, increasing the difficulty of respiration by the frequency of my sighs, I felt myself at times on the point of suffocation.

The violence of this exercise diverted my pain, by suspending my feelings. Instinct, in violent passions, suggests certain exclamations, motions, and gestures, which relieve the spirits, and turn the tide of passion another way. Agitation is only a symptom of rage. A gloomy silence is more to be dreaded; it is the neighbour of despair. That very night I experienced this difference in a manner almost to excite laughter, if aught that betrays the folly and misery of human nature could have such an effect on man.

After innumerable wanderings, of which I was altogether unconscious, I found myself in the middle of the city, surrounded by carriages, in the neighbourhood of a theatre, at about the hour of its opening. I should have been trampled on by the crowd, had not some one, who pulled me by the arm, apprised me of my danger.

I threw myself into an open door-way—it was that of a coffee-house. I was there accosted by people of my acquaintance, who, after telling me I know not what, carried me I know not where. Struck with the sound of music and the splendour of lights, I came to myself. I opened my eyes, and gazed about me. I found myself in the pit, on the night of a first representation, pressed by the crowd, and unable to get out. I trembled, but I resigned myself to my situation. I said nothing; I preserved an

air of apparent tranquillity, howsoever dear it cost me. The noise was great; and of the persons speaking on all sides of me, some addressed themselves to me. Understanding nothing, what answer could I give? But one of those who had brought me there, accidentally mentioned my wife. At this fatal name, I sent forth a piercing cry; heard by all present, it occasioned a momentary interruption. I quickly composed myself, and all was quiet. However, having by this cry attracted the attention of those who stood around me, I sought the moment of escape, and, drawing near the door by degrees, succeeded in getting out before the close of the performance. On entering the street, happening to look at my hand, which I had kept in my bosom during the whole representation, I perceived that my fingers were stained with blood, and I thought I felt something trickling down my breast. I opened my bosom—looked—found it bloody and lacerated like the heart it enclosed. You may easily imagine that a spectator, undisturbed, in such circumstances, was no very good judge of the piece he had seen performed.

I quickened my pace, trembling lest I should be again encountered. Night favoured my wanderings, as though in compensation for the restraint I had just experienced. I roamed for several hours without resting one moment. At length, hardly able to support myself, and finding that I had reached my home, I entered, though not without a dreadful palpitation of the heart.—I ask where my son is;—I am told he is asleep;—I remain silent and sigh;

—my servants wish to speak to me;—I order them to be silent;—I throw myself on my bed, and desire them all to go to rest. After a few hours' repose, worse than the agitation of the preceding day, I rise before it is light, and, crossing the apartment without noise, come to Sophia's chamber. There, unable to restrain myself, with the most despicable meanness, I cover with a thousand kisses, and bathe with a torrent of tears, the threshold of her door. Retreating, then, with the fear and precaution of a guilty person, I walk quietly out of the house, resolved never more to enter it.*

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* The critical reader will, at a glance, have perceived, that, in this *Sequel to Emilius*, the translator has found himself under the necessity of taking some slight—more than slight—liberties with his author. It was, in fact, *too broad* in manner, *too thoroughly French*, *too Rousseauish*—if he may be allowed to coin an adjective—for the purity of English taste.—Ed.

LETTER LXXIV.

Major Cartwright, the Reformer; as a Gentleman, an Officer, and a Political Writer—His "American Independence, the Interest and Glory of Great Britain"—*Approval of his Scheme, by the American Congress—Consequent Declaration of Congress—* "Declaration of Rights"—*Exclamation of a Celebrated Statesman.*

London, 1785.

You will be glad to become acquainted with Mr. Cartwright, the gentleman who will deliver this letter. He is an officer in the English army, and son-in-law to your friend, Mr. Dashwood, whose daughter he married. He has seen much service; not as a military man, for, though he has been these ten years in the militia, he has not, I believe, had a single opportunity of being called into action; but, in the early part of his life, he served in the navy, and distinguished himself

at the attack upon Cherbourg. At that time, he was only eighteen. He was with Admiral Hawke, when the latter defeated Conflans; and has also served under Admirals Palliser, Byron, and Howe.

But it is not only as a brave officer that I recommend him to you. He is a most agreeable companion, possessing all the solidity of the English, with the suavity of manners which our countrymen possess; in one word, he is a sensible and *travelled* Englishman. He is a vigilant, active, and able politician and writer; and, had the English government attended to some of his suggestions, many thousands of lives, many millions of money, might have been saved to the country. Ten years ago, he published a small work, of considerable talent, entitled, "*American Independence, the Interest and Glory of Great Britain.*" In this volume he proposes that America shall be declared an independent separate state; but that the King shall continue mediator and protector,

and that an annual sum of money shall be paid by America to the British government.

It appears that the leading men in America approved this scheme; for, six months afterwards, the Congress declared, "That, on a reconciliation with Britain, we shall not only continue to grant aids in time of war, but whenever she shall think fit to abolish her monopoly, and give us the same privileges of trade as Ireland received at the Union, and allow us a free commerce with all the rest of the world, we will willingly agree (and we doubt not it will be ratified by our constituents) to give and pay into the sinking fund 100,000*l.* *per annum*, for the term of one hundred years; which duly, faithfully, and inviolably applied to that purpose, is demonstrably more than sufficient to extinguish all her present national debt, since it will not amount, at legal British interest, to more than 230,000,000*l.* But if Britain does not think fit to accept this proposition, we, in order to remove her groundless jealousies, that we

aim at independence, and an abolition of the Navigation Act (which hath in truth never been our intention), and to avoid all disputes about the right of making that and other Acts for regulating our commerce, do hereby declare ourselves ready and willing to enter into a covenant with Great Britain, that she shall fully possess, enjoy, and exercise that right for a hundred years to come, the same being *bonâ fide*, and for the common benefit."

Had such a union been adopted between the mother country and America, what we have witnessed could not have come to pass, possibly for half a century.

One of my friend's publications is unusually powerful; it will assist me at some future period in my intended *grand work*: it is entitled, "*Declaration of Rights.*" I am not certain that he is the author of it; but I know that he has recently brought out a new edition, and added considerably to the work. I have been told, that, when it was

shewn to a late celebrated statesman, he exclaimed—"The *Declaration of Rights* is quite right!"

I am indebted to Mr. Cartwright for much information respecting this country; and he will be delighted in giving you a proper insight into every subject connected with British politics.* M.

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* Having, at a great age, attained the rank of Major in the army, Mr. Cartwright died only two or three years ago. In 1831, a bronze statue to his memory was erected in Burton Crescent, near Brunswick Square. Mr. G. Clarke, a sculptor of great merit, but who, from having been resident in the metropolis only about two years, is not yet sufficiently known, was the gentleman selected by the Committee to model and cast this figure. This he executed at an expense of only 700*l.*; and, of course, obtained little, if any, remuneration for his talented labours. The Achilles—the "Ladies' Offering"—in Hyde Park (the bronze, from the guns taken at Waterloo, given by Government) is said to have cost 7,000*l.* The *other Green Man*, opposite Palace Yard, is reported to have cost nearly the same sum; yet there are not wanting critics who regard the statue of Major Cartwright as decidedly the finest of the three.—EDITOR.

LETTER LXXV.

" Smith's Travels through France " — *Dr. Johnson criticised — The Rev. Mr. Graves — Shenstone — "* Sorbière's Journey to London, in the year 1698 " *— Graves' Poetical Description of Himself — Shenstone's Illustrations of the French Character — French and English Ladies.*

London.

Mr. Bourgeois, distantly related to Romilly, has just arrived, and has given me your very delightful letter; but it bears a distant date, as that gentleman, instead of proceeding direct to Calais, took the road of Lille and Brussels, on his way to England. He is an Englishman by birth. Did you ever hear any *Jacques Rosbif* speak French so fluently? He is to form one of our coterie, which is daily increasing. Persons of every country in Europe will be admitted to our Cosmopolitan Club, and I hope

you will soon join, and enliven, our little society.

I have received from Mr. B. a copy of "*Smith's Travels through France.*" It might have been thought impossible to utter in so small a space, so many palpable falsehoods. But such writers cannot injure us with the English. By-the-by, get the enclosed inserted in one of the periodical publications. It will serve as an answer to the trash printed by Smith. The Englishman who wrote it, some years ago, is, I believe, Mr. Shenstone, of whom Dr. Johnson, who died last year, was pleased to say, "That he had not a comprehensive mind, or active curiosity, or any value for those branches of knowledge which he himself had not cultivated." Mr. Graves,* who had been a great friend of Shenstone, and with whom I have the honour of being acquainted, says, that

* Author of "*The Spiritual Quixote,*" and other works.

the Doctor *lies*, IMPUDENTISSIME. This Johnson is held up in England as a miracle of every thing that is learned and good. I am acquainted with his Dictionary, which I believe to be excellent. His "*Lives of the Poets*" are also well written; but he has looked at these great men through a smoked glass, and with a jaundiced eye. As to his moral essays, they tend only to increase that melancholy with which the English are already so abundantly supplied.

Mr. Graves is one of the few instances I have met with, in England, of an *un-melancholy* man. Although seventy years of age, he has all the vivacity of a French marquis; he bustles about—is never five minutes in the same place—laughs like one who never saw a tear—is witty himself; and, as Shakspeare says of Falstaff, is the cause of wit in others. A friend of his used to say, when speaking of Mr. Graves, "That he would be one of the most agreeable men in the world,

if he had but time; for want of which, he only came to see you, to let you know he could not stay with you a single moment."

But, to return to Smith's residence in Paris: the little tract I mentioned some time ago will do very well as a parody on his work: it is a lively production, and has made us *Clubbists* laugh most heartily. It was originally written by Sorbière, I believe; but I never saw the French edition. The English one, however, has evidently preserved all the quaintness of the original: get it published, it will do very well as a *squib;** and now that every scribbling blockhead, who visits Paris, pleases to follow the example of the *preaching Bishop*, whose sermon, delivered before the Peers of England, I noticed in a previous letter, let us show these Norman and Saxon critics,

* For this singular production, *vide* Appendix C., at the end of the volume.

that, individually, we are as good as they: if collectively they surpass us, it is the effect of comparatively good government. The day must come, when, collectively as well as individually, we shall be in the same line, and march together. Such writers and speakers as those I have mentioned have effected, and continue to effect, incalculable injury; the only two really civilized people, on the globe, are perhaps thus kept apart by the prejudices of ignorant boobies (*goujats*). Take Sorbière as a theme; write copious notes; and mind you do not gild the pill: let Linguet swallow it with all its bitterness.

P. S.—A friend of Mr. Graves has given me the following lively poetic effusion, written by the latter as a description of himself. Though you read English prose compositions with ease, you say that the poetry of these islanders is too difficult for you: this, then, will serve as a lesson: turn it into French verse, and my lively clergyman shall see it:—

" A wight there was, scarce known, I ween, to fame,
Who day by day to Bath's famed city came;
Meagre and very rueful were his looks,
He seemed as he had fed on nought but books:
His old great coat 'which he could ne'er forsake,
Hung half before and half behind his back.'
Full three score springs had blossom'd o'er his head,
Yet nimble as a roe buck was his tread;
For in his youth, he ne'er did heat his blood
With liquors hot or high and luscious food:
Therefore his age, like frosty winter past,
Hoary, but hale and healthy to the last!
'What! walk to Bath, Sir?' cries some gouty man:
'No, Sir,' quoth he, 'I did not walk—I ran.'
He strolled about, and traversed many a street,
Eftsoons some friend or dainty nymph would greet.
With scornful looks, by empty fops survey'd,
By scornful looks or sneers, he, undismay'd,
On matters deep, or mus'd, or seemed to muse;
Then made a halt, then read or heard the news,
Bought some old book, or print perchance, and then,
Small bus'ness done, he travell'd home again.
Such is the life of man, with busy face,
On trifles bent, he strolls from place to place;
With various scenes of happiness amus'd,
By turns applauded and by turns abus'd.
To sorrow's school sent weeping from the womb,
Spends his short span, then hastens to the tomb.
Life's but a morning lounge, unless confined
To duty's path, and useful to mankind."

As I said, you must get the following inserted in some publication:—

"A Frenchman," says the Earl of Chesterfield, "who, with a fund of learning, virtue, and good sense, has the manners and good breeding of his country, is the perfection of human nature." I am not an enemy to the French; but I do not think this assertion true. In my opinion the following would have been juster: *an Englishman, who joins manners and good breeding to the solidity, energy, and greatness of mind, which characterize his country, is the perfection of human nature.*

I do not mean to compliment: but sentiments and actions are upon a more elevated scale here than can be found in any other nation in the world. There are no effects without causes, and the causes of this are very obvious. We pass our youth with the Greeks and Romans. Their great examples expand our souls; the brightness of their actions, and the splendour of their principles, kindle the most noble passions in our minds; and, when we come to be men, the nature of our government feeds this flame, and we glow with a certain internal ardour, which occasionally breaks out into action, and which is neither known nor comprehended but in the dominions of Britain.

I do justice here to my country, and my soul feels happy that I am able to give her, with truth, a superiority over the universe in genius and magnanimity. But if from this I shall be understood to think meanly

of the French, because they are the rivals and enemies of this nation, it would indeed be to misinterpret me much. Though I do not think that people *equal* to this in *greatness;* I think them a very great people: and if the English are superior to the French in all the more elevated qualities which dignify and ennoble humanity, so the French surpass the English in all the milder and gentler virtues which grace and adorn it.

In England the French have few friends. But they have *one*; and *that* one is I. They could not, I acknowledge, have a feebler advocate; but while I have a tongue to speak, or a pen to write, wherever I go I'll do them justice.

Let every man who *knows* that nation speak of it as he found it; if he lived in their intimacy for years (as I did), and if he found them ill-natured, ill-mannered, treacherous, and cowardly, let him speak his mind. I quarrel with no man who judges for himself, and who speaks the truth. But let the indulgence I grant be granted to me again; and let me be permitted to tell the world, that, however other men may have found them, I found them good-natured, brave, polished, frank, and friendly.

> "They *were* my friends, faithful and just to me;
> But Brutus says they are *perfidious;*
> And Brutus is an honourable man.
> I speak not to disprove what Brutus spoke;
> But here I am *to speak what I do know.*"

I found them all animated with a desire to please, and

always ready to do me every service in their power. I owe them a thousand obligations. I had faults; they corrected them: I wanted knowledge; they informed me: I was rough; they softened me: I was sick; they visited me: I was vain; they flattered me: I had need of counsel; they gave me the best advice: every man has need of agreeable company, and every man may be sure to find it in France.

I could be lavish in praise of this nation; but I am sorry to say that too many people here have prejudices against them as ridiculous as they are ill-founded. They *despise* the French as if they were beings without either sense or sentiment; though their writings and actions show they are full of both. Because two states have different interests, is *that* a reason that every individual belonging to those states should promote, to the utmost of his abilities, the interest and glory of the country to which he belongs? It certainly is. And *therefore*, every Frenchman has the same merit in labouring with all his might for the destruction of the British fleet, that every Englishman has in exerting all *his* powers to annihilate the navy of France. If a blast of *my* breath could send all the ships she has to the bottom of the sea—puff—they were sunk, before you could finish this period. But is it a reason I should hate or despise the French, because I am naturally and necessarily the enemy of France?

The best way to judge these matters, is to take two other rival nations, Austria and Prussia, Athens and Sparta. Here you are dispassionate; your judgment

will be just. Do you think it is the duty of a liberal minded Prussian to despise an Austrian?

Or should a well born Athenian detest a Lacedæmonian because he is equally animated by the same noble flame that warms himself—the love of his country? The nation which is able to rival another, proves herself worthy the admiration of that nation, even by her rivalry; and had I no other reason to consider the French as a great people, beside their being able to contend with England, that proof for *me* would be sufficient. But the French are perfidious *in politics*. I deny that they *can* be perfidious with the English. They may be treacherous, for aught I know, with the Austrians and the Spaniards. There they profess friendship. They are of the same religion, frequently intermarry, and have frequent alliances. With England, France has no connection. She may overreach her in politics, but she never can deceive her by perfidy, because she is her uniform enemy. There is not an infant that does not know, that France ever was, and ever will be, the enemy of England. The making a peace, is not making a friendship; and the French will not be more the friends of England when this peace is made, than they were five years before the war began, or than they are now. The rivalry between the two nations will last while the nations last. They are *littora littoribus contraria*—opposite in every thing. It is the duty of France to depress England as much as she can. It is the duty of England to keep down France as much as is in her power.

It is the duty of both to do justice to the other. This justice the French *do* render the English. I am sorry I cannot say the English do the same by them. Every class of men in France praise the people of this country: some the solidity of their understanding, and the extent of their genius; others, the energy and vigour of their character; many, their magnanimity and benevolence; and all, their courage and good faith. While here—but I blush for numbers, and am unable to finish my period.

Of course, his countrywomen carry away the palm; and I cannot but confess that he is almost right.

Women are a subject upon which so much has been said and written by so many men of abilities, that it is not easy to imagine a new light to show them in; or to place them in an attitude, in which they have not been already placed. But talking of a nation, if one did not say something about so considerable a part of it, the subject must appear mutilated and imperfect.

As brevity is the soul of wit, I shall be brief; and I shall only touch on the principal points in which the women of France differ from those of other countries.

When a French lady comes into a room, the first thing that strikes you is, that she walks better, holds herself better, has her head and feet better dressed, her clothes better fancied and better put on, than any woman you have ever seen.

When she talks, she is the art of pleasing personified. Her eyes, her lips, her words, her gestures, are all prepossessing. Her language is the language of amiableness; her accents, are the accents of grace; she embellishes a trifle; interests upon nothing; she softens a contradiction; she takes off the insipidness of a compliment by turning it elegantly; and when she has a mind, she sharpens and polishes the point of an epigram better than all the women in the world.

Her eyes sparkle with spirit; the most delightful sallies flash from her fancy; in telling a story, she is inimitable; the motions of her body and the accents of her tongue, are equally genteel and easy; an equable flow of sprightliness keeps her constantly good humoured and cheerful; and the only objects of her life are to please and be pleased.

Her vivacity may *sometimes* approach to folly; but, perhaps, it is not in her moments of folly that she is least interesting and agreeable. English women have many points of superiority over the French; the French are superior to them in many others. I have mentioned some of those points in other places. Here I shall only say, there is a particular idea, in which no woman in the world can compare with a French woman; it is in the power of *intellectual irritation.* She will draw wit out of a fool. She strikes with such address the chords of self-love, that she gives unexpected vigour and agility to fancy; and electrifies a body that appeared non-electric.

I have mentioned here the women of England; and

I have done wrong. I did not intend it when I began the letter. They came into my mind, as the *only* women in the world worthy of being compared with those of France. To settle the respective claims of the fair sex in these two countries, requires an abler pen than mine. I shall not dare to examine it even in a single point; nor presume to determine, whether, in the important article of beauty, form and colour are to be preferred to expression and grace; or whether grace and expression are to be considered as preferable to complexion and shape. I shall not examine whether the *piquant* of France is to be thought superior to the *touchant* of England; or whether deep sensibility deserves to be preferred to animation and wit. So important a subject requires a volume. I shall only venture to give a trait. If a goddess could be supposed to be formed, compounded of Juno and Minerva, that goddess would be the emblem of the women of this country. Venus, as she is, with all her amiableness and imperfections, may stand, justly enough, for an emblem of French women. I have decided the question without intending it; for I have given the preference to the women of England.

One point I had forgotten; and it is a material one. It is not to be disputed on; for what I am going to write is the opinion and sentiment of the universe. The English women are the best wives under heaven—and shame be on the men who make them bad husbands!

LETTER LXXVI.

French and English Travellers—Sorbière—Gerbier, the French Orator—Translations from Virgil—Parliamentary Speakers.

London.

The French and the English will in a few years appreciate each other better than they have hitherto done. Many of the travellers who have visited France have not done justice to that country; and the same remark will hold good with respect to many Frenchmen who have passed a few months in England. Nearly a century ago, an English Doctor published his travels in France, filled with the grossest exaggerations. A Frenchman, named Sorbière, having come to England about the same period, on his return to Paris treated his countrymen with an account of his journey—whether as a parody upon

the English Doctor's work, or as a relation of facts, I leave you to judge: as it is a very curious production, and has given me much entertainment, I send a copy to you.*

Gerbier was one of our little *coterie* yesterday; he is an extremely eloquent man, and possessed of a prodigious memory. We were speaking of a recent translation of Virgil; the line

"Tam multa in tectis crepitans salit horrida grando,"

is given thus:—

"Sous les grains bondissans dont les toits retentissent
La grêle écrase helas! les grappes qui murissent."

"Compare this," said he, "with the translation by Cartel;" a young man with whom he was well acquainted, and who only lived to the age of twenty-five:—

"L'aquilon furieux, souffle, siffle, frémit
La grêle en sautillant, sur les toits retentit."

Another line he quoted, as an ingenious method of not offending delicate ears, by

* *Vide* Appendix C, referred to in the preceding letter

naming the *coucou*—"a word of fear," as Shakspeare has it, "unpleasing to a married ear:"—

"Lorsque vous entendrez l'uniforme ramage
De cet oiseau haï de l'hymen qu'il outrage"—

and also the following, wherein he has laconically expressed the present and past state of the Eternal City:—

Veuve d'un peuple roi, mais reine encore du monde.

Gerbier, the most eloquent public speaker the French nation possesses, has been to the two houses of Parliament; but, as he does not understand a syllable of the language, when spoken, he could form but an indifferent opinion respecting the merits of the different orators. I should have preferred letting you know what he thought about them; but, as it is, you must be satisfied with my notice respecting these statesmen, who, as Voltaire says, are eternally debating near the *walls* of Westminster—which has no walls save those which form the houses.

M.

LETTER LXXVII.

Correspondence between the Duke de Crillon and General Elliot,† during the Siege of Gibraltar.*

London.

THE two following letters have been communicated to me by a British officer, who served under General Elliot at the siege of Gibraltar; they reflect infinite credit upon the

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* The Duke de Crillon took Minorca, and distinguished himself at Rosbach, Fontenoy, &c.—ED.

† George Augustus Elliot, youngest son of Sir Gilbert Elliot, of Stobbs, in Scotland, Bart. (the elder branch of Lord Minto's family) was created, in 1787, for his gallant defence of Gibraltar, Baron Heathfield. His Lordship died at Aix la Chapelle, aged 72, in 1790. The title became extinct, on the death of his son, the second Baron, in 1813; when the family estates devolved upon the nephew of the latter nobleman, the present Sir Thomas Trayton Fuller Elliot Drake, Bart.—ED.

besieging and besieged commanders. If the

" Mal qui répand la terreur,
Mal que le ciel en sa fureur,
Inventa pour punir les crimes de la terre,"—

if war must take place between two generous and noble-minded people—if sovereigns must quarrel and make their subjects the victims of their disputes—disputes in which both parties are not unfrequently in the wrong—then let conduct such as that evinced by the contending generals in question be pursued by all who have a command; and let these epistles serve as models for those who are superior to an Attila or a Thamas Kouli Khan.

Read, and get them inserted in some publication in general credit. M.

Camp of Buona-vista, August 19, 1782.

SIR,

HIS Royal Highness, Comte d'Artois,* who has received permission from the King his brother to assist at this siege, as a volunteer in the combined army, of

* Now Charles X., ex-King of the French.—ED.

which their most Christian and Catholic Majesties have honoured me with the command, arrived in this camp the 13th instant. This young prince has been pleased, in passing through Madrid, to take charge of some letters that had been sent to that capital from this, and which are addressed to persons belonging to your garrison. His Royal Highness has desired that I would transmit them to you, and that to this mark of his goodness and attention, I should add the strongest expression of esteem for your person and character. I feel the greater pleasure in giving this mark of condescension to this august prince, as it furnishes me with a pretext which I have been anxiously looking for these two months that I have been in this camp, to assure you of the high esteem I have conceived for your Excellency; of the extreme desire I feel of deserving yours; and of the pleasure to which I look forward of becoming your friend, after I shall have learnt to render myself worthy of the honour of facing you as an enemy.

His Highness the Duke de Bourbon,* who arrived here twenty-four hours after Comte d'Artois, desires also that I should assure you of his particular esteem.

Permit me, dear General, to offer a few little trifles for your table, of which I am sure you must stand in need: as I know you live entirely on vegetables, I should be glad to know what kind you like best. I shall add a few

* The venerable nobleman, father of the lamented Duke d'Enghien, who died, (it was said, by his own hands) two years ago.

partridges for the gentlemen of your household, and some ice, which I presume will not be disagreeable, in the excessive heat of this climate, at the present season of the year. I hope you will be obliging enough to accept the small portion which I send with this letter.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

To His Excellency General Elliott, &c.

Answer.

Gibraltar, Aug. 20.

SIR,

I FIND myself highly honoured by your obliging letter of yesterday, in which your Excellency was so kind as to inform me of the arrival in your camp of his Royal Highness the Comte d'Artois, and the Duke de Bourbon, to serve as volunteers at the siege. These princes have shewn their judgment in making choice of a master in the great art of war, whose abilities cannot fail to form great warriors.

I am really overwhelmed with the condescension of his Royal Highness, in suffering some letters for persons in this town, to be conveyed from Madrid in his carriage; I flatter myself that your Excellency will give my most profound respects to his Royal Highness and to the Duke de Bourbon, for the expressions of esteem with which they have been pleased to honour so insignificant a person as I am.

I return a thousand thanks to your Excellency for your handsome presents of fruits, vegetables, and game; you will excuse me, however, I trust, when I assure

you, that in accepting your present I have broken through a resolution, which I had faithfully kept from the beginning of the war; and that was, never to receive or procure by any means whatever, any provisions or commodity for my own private use; so that without any preference, every thing is sold publicly here, and the private soldier, if he has money, can become a purchaser as soon as the governor. I confess I make it a point of honour to partake both of plenty and scarcity, in common with the lowest of my brave fellow soldiers: this furnishes me with an excuse for the liberty I now take, of entreating your Excellency not to heap any more favours on me of this kind, as in future I cannot convert them to my own private use. Indeed, to be plain with your Excellency, though vegetables at this season are scarce with us, every one of us has got a quantity proportioned to the labour he has bestowed in raising them: the English are naturally fond of gardening and cultivation, and here we find an amusement in it during the intervals of rest from our public duty.

The promise which the Duke de Crillon makes to honour me in proper time and place, with his friendship, lays me under infinite obligations; the interests of our sovereigns being once solidly settled, I shall with eagerness embrace the first opportunity to avail myself of so precious a treasure.

I have the honour to be, &c.

To His Excellency the Duke de Crillon, &c. &c.

LETTER LXXVIII.

Suggested Translation of Mrs. Macauley Graham's "History of England"—*Dr. Watson's* "History of Philip III., King of Spain"—*Watson's Character of Queen Elizabeth—Mirabeau designated the* "Plebeian Aristocrat"—*Proposition for Publishing his* "Letters from England," *at Hamburgh—Improved Aspect of the Writer's Affairs—Probability of his Journey to the Netherlands, Prussia, &c.—Mrs. Graham's Character of James II.*

London.

I HAVE abundance of occupation for Durival; but having no particular wish, at present, to correspond with him, pray call at his residence, and ascertain whether he has leisure to translate Mrs. Graham's "*History of England.*" It has made much noise in this country; and the lady who wrote it, being a republican in principles, it will probably meet with a more extensive sale than Watson's "*Philip.*" Watson died about a twelve-

month ago; and the success of his "*Philip II.*" having been very great, he had commenced the "*History of Philip III.*;" but death stopped him in the midst of his labours. It has been continued; and the following specimen will enable you to judge whether it be worth translating.

"*Character of Queen Elizabeth.*

"This great princess, whose reign was so long and prosperous, had, through her whole life, enjoyed uninterrupted health, which she had been careful to preserve by regular exercise, and the strictest temperance. But towards the end of the preceding year, having been seized with a cold, which confined her for several days, she found her strength considerably impaired; and in the hopes of deriving benefit from a change of air, she removed from Westminster to Richmond. But there she grew daily worse, could neither sleep nor eat as usual, and though her pulse was regular, she complained of a burning heat in her stomach, and a perpetual thirst. Both her looks and spirits had from the beginning been greatly affected; business of every kind had become an intolerable burthen to her; and at length she sunk into a deep melancholy, expressing the anguish of her mind by tears and groans, and obstinately refusing nourishment, as well as all the medicines which the

physicians prescribed for her recovery. This melancholy might have entirely proceeded from her bodily indisposition, although, from some late discoveries, there is ground to believe that it was greatly heightened, if not principally occasioned, by remorse and grief conceived on account of her having ordered the execution of her favourite, the Earl of Essex. But to whatever cause her dejection of mind was owing, it preyed upon her exhausted frame, and in a few weeks put a period to her life, in the seventieth year of her age, and the forty-fifth of her reign.

"It is not surprising that we meet with such contradictory descriptions of the character of this princess in the cotemporary historians, whose passions were too much inflamed to suffer them to judge impartially of her character; but it should seem impossible for any person, who is not blinded by prejudice, to refuse her a place among the most illustrious princes of whom we read either in ancient or in modern times. She was not, indeed, exempt from the imperfections that are incident to humanity, and she was subject to several of those weaknesses which characterise her sex. She cannot be vindicated from the imputation of female vanity, and the love of admiration, on account of her exterior accomplishments. We should have loved her more if she had been more gentle and indulgent, less imperious and violent, or more candid and sincere. From natural temper, her passions of every kind were strong and vehement, and, among her courtiers, they sometimes

betrayed her into improprieties; but they were scarcely ever permitted to influence her public conduct, which was uniformly regulated by the principles of prudence and a regard for the public good: even her ambition was controlled and governed by these principles, of which she gave a rare and signal proof, when she refused to accept of the sovereignty of the United Provinces. Her penetration and sagacity, her prudence and foresight, her intrepidity in the midst of danger, her activity and vigour, her steadiness and perseverance, and her wise economy, which prompted her to save every unnecessary expense, however small, while it permitted and enabled her to undergo the greatest, when necessity required,—these qualities in her character, which are acknowledged by her enemies, as well as her admirers, no prince of whom we read in history appears to have possessed in a more eminent degree. Few princes have been placed in so difficult circumstances, or have had so many, and such formidable enemies to oppose; yet few princes ever enjoyed a reign so long and prosperous. While the neighbouring nations were almost continually involved in the calamities of war, she was able, notwithstanding the unremitted attempts of her foreign enemies, and her popish subjects, to preserve her dominions in comparatively uninterrupted peace.

"Nor did her own subjects only reap the fruits of her great abilities, but her friends were every where supported and protected by her power; while her enemies, though possessed of much greater resources, were either

checked and restrained, or humbled and overcome: without her judicious interposition, the reformation in Scotland must have been extinguished! A race of popish princes must have inherited the crown of that kingdom: and the difference of religion there and in England, joined to the hereditary right of the Scottish princes to the English throne; whilst it must have proved a copious source of discord, would long have prevented the union of two nations, which must have often been unhappy while they remained divided, and were by nature destined to be one. Nor were the benefits which mankind derived from her wise and active reign confined to Britain! but it is likewise probable, that, without her aid and her exertions, the Protestants in France must have been extirpated: the best and greatest of the French monarchs must have been excluded from the throne: France itself must have sunk under the Spanish yoke! the republic of the United Provinces must have been crushed in its infancy: and an overgrown and enormous power established, which must have overwhelmed the liberties of Europe, and prolonged the reign of bigotry and ignorance."

But to return to Mrs. Graham, better known by the name of Macauley—judge from the following character of James the Second, whether this manner will do. At all events, Guiraudet, who is an active trans-

lator, will be glad enough to go shares in the undertaking. My name is worth something; and the *plebeian aristocrat*, as D. pleases to call me, will cause it to go down with the public. It is an affair of money, and therefore the *sic vos non vobis* he may privately apply to me.

I have received a letter from Mauvillon: he tells me that he has been introduced to Fauche, the enterprising Hamburgh bookseller. The latter wishes to publish my "*Letters from England.*" You must, therefore, have the goodness to call upon Henrietta, who will give you the names and addresses of the different persons with whom I have corresponded. You will deliver the enclosed note; and as I shall write to them by this post, they will permit you to copy those letters which you may think interesting; and of these you will easily be able to form a useful book; useful, because this country is, I believe, less known to our

countrymen than almost any other part of Europe.

Lose no time—I know not how long I may remain here;—but, as my affairs begin to assume a more settled appearance, I very probably may shortly proceed to the Netherlands, and thence to Prussia and Germany, where I have several friends who have invited me to visit them.

In the meantime, fare you well. I will send you more materials every time I have an opportunity.

Character of King James the Second, from Mrs. M. Graham's History of England.

"It was said by the witty Duke of Buckingham, that 'Charles the Second might do well if he would,' and that 'James would do well if he could.' An observation, which says little for the understanding of James, but a great deal for his heart: and with all the blemishes with which his character is stained, he was not deficient in several qualities necessary to compose a good sovereign. His industry in business was exemplary, he was frugal of the public money, he cherished and extended the maritime power of the empire, and his encourage-

ment of trade was attended with such success that, according to the observation of the impartial Ralph, as the frugality of his administration helped to increase the number of malcontents, so his extreme attention to trade was not less alarming to the whole body of the Dutch, than his resolution not to rush into a war with France was mortifying to their stadtholder: in domestic life, the character of James, though not irreproachable, was comparatively good: it is true, he was in a great measure tainted with that licentiousness of manners, which at this time pervaded the whole society, and which reigned triumphant within the circle of the court; but he was never carried into any excesses which trenched deeply on the duties of social life; and, if the qualities of his heart were only to be judged by his conduct, in the different characters of husband, father, master, and friend, he might be pronounced a man of a very amiable disposition. But those who know not how to forgive injuries, and can never pardon the errors, the infirmities, the vices, or even the virtues of their fellow creatures, when in any respect they affect personal interest or inclination, will arm against them the sensibility of every human mind, and can never expect from others that justice and commiseration which themselves have never exercised. But whilst we execrate that rancorous cruelty with which James, in the short hour of triumph, persecuted all those who endeavoured to thwart his ambitious hopes, it is but justice to observe, that the rank vices of pride, malice, and revenge, which so deeply blacken his character, whilst

he figured in the station of presumptive heir to the crown, and afterwards in the character of sovereign, in the successful quelling the Monmouth rebellion, were thoroughly corrected by the chastising hand of affliction: that the whole period of his life, from his return from Ireland to the day of his death, was spent in the exercise of the first Christian virtues: *viz.* patience, fortitude, humility, and resignation.

"Buttoneau, his biographer, records that he always spoke with an extreme moderation of the individuals who had acted the most successfully in his disfavour; that he reproved those who mentioned their conduct with severity; that he read, even with a stoical apathy, the bitterest writings which were published against him; that he regarded the loss of empire as a necessary correction for the misdemeanours of his life, and even rebuked those who expressed any concern for the issue of events which he respected as ordinations of the divine will. According to the same biographer, James was exact in his devotion, moderate even to abstinence; in his life, full of sentiments of the highest contrition for past offences; and, according to the discipline of the Romish Church, was very severe in the austerities which he inflicted on his person. As this prince justly regarded himself as a martyr to the Catholic faith, as his warmest friends were all of this persuasion, as his conversation in his retirement at St. Germains was in a great measure confined to priests and devotees, it is natural that his superstition should increase with the increase of religious sentiment; and as he had made use of his

power and authority, whilst in England, to enlarge the number of proselytes to popery, so, in a private station, he laboured incessantly, by prayer, exhortation, and example, to confirm the piety of his popish adherents, and to effect a reformation in those who still continued firm to the doctrines of the Church of England.

"He visited the monks of La Trappe once a year, the severest order of religionists in France: and his conformity to the discipline of the convent was so strict and exact, that he impressed those devotees with sentiments of admiration at his piety, humility, and constancy.

"Thus, having spent twelve years with a higher degree of peace and tranquillity than he had ever experienced in the most triumphant part of his life, he was seized with a palsy in September, 1701; and after languishing fifteen days, died in the 58th year of his age, having filled up the interval, between his first seizure and final exit, with the whole train of religious exercises enjoined on similar occasions by the Church of Rome, with solemn professions of his faith, and earnest exhortations to his two children, the youngest of whom was born in the second year of his exile, to keep steadfast to the religion in which they had been educated.

"These precepts and commands have acted with a force superior to all the temptations of a crown, and have been adhered to with a firmness which obliges an historian to acknowledge the superiority which James's descendants, in the nice points of honour and conscience, have gained over the character of Henry the Fourth, who, at the period when he was looked up to as the great

hero of the Protestant cause, made no scruple to accept a crown on the disgraceful terms of abjuring the principles of the Reformation, and embracing the principles of a religion, which, from his early infancy, he had been taught to regard as idolatrous and profane.

"The dominion of error over the minds of the generality of mankind is irresistible. James, to the last hour of his life, continued as great a bigot to his political as his religious errors: he could not help considering the strength and power of the crown as a circumstance necessary to the preservation and happiness of the people; and in a letter of advice which he wrote to his son, whilst he conjures him to pay a religious observance to all the duties of a good sovereign, he cautions him against suffering any entrenchment on royal prerogative. Among several heads, containing excellent instructions on the art of reigning happily and justly, he warns the young prince never to attempt to disquiet his subjects in their property or their religion; and, what is very remarkable, to his last breath he persisted in asserting, that he never intended to subvert the laws, or procure more than an equality of privilege to his Catholic subjects. As there is great reason to believe this assertion to be true, it shows, that the delusion was inexcusable under which the King laboured, by the trust he had put in the knavish doctrines of lawyers and priests; and that neither himself nor his Protestant abettors could fathom the consequences of that enlarged system of toleration which he endeavoured to establish."

LETTER LXXIX.

Professional Eminence of Sir Joshua Reynolds—Capability of the English to become Great Artists, excepting in Landscape—England will never produce a Claude—Reynolds's Lectures on Painting—National Gallery suggested, and its Probable Consequences—Chiswick Collection.

London.

Reynolds is really a great artist. I have seen many of his compositions; and it may be safely asserted, that, as a portrait painter, or, as he may almost be termed, an historical one, he has not his equal in Europe. A few such men as he, and the English would become as great artists as the Italians and Dutch; for, mind, I do not think that this sombre climate would arrest their progress, except in landscape; and I cannot believe they will ever have a Claude, for the best of reasons, namely, that bistre is the only colour suited to describe their murky atmosphere.

Reynolds delivers an annual discourse on his art, and his reflections are always judicious, and, therefore, instructive. In his last lecture, he said, that if we consider with a critical view the manner of those artists whom we regard as patterns, we shall find that their great fame does not proceed from their works being more highly finished, or from a more minute attention to details, but from that enlarged comprehension which sees the whole object at once, and that energy of art which gives its characteristic effect by adequate expression.

"Raffaelle and Titian," he observes, "are two names which stand the highest in our art: one for drawing, the other for painting. The most considerable and esteemed works of Raffaelle are the cartoons, and his fresco works on the Vatican. These, as we all know, are far from being minutely finished; his principal care and attention seem to be fixed upon the adjustment of the whole,

whether it was the general composition or the composition of each individual figure; for every figure may be said to be a lesser whole, though, in regard to the general work to which it belongs, it is but a part. The same may be said of the head, of the hands, or feet. Though he possessed this art of seeing and comprehending the whole, as far as form is concerned, he did not exert the same faculty in regard to the general effect, which is presented to the eye by colour, and light and shade. Of this the deficiency of his oil pictures, where this excellence is more expected than in fresco, is a sufficient proof.

"It is to Titian we must turn our eyes to find excellence with regard to colour, and light and shade, in the highest degree. He was both the first and greatest master of this art. By a few sketches, he knew how to mark the general image and character of whatever object he attempted; and produced, by this

alone, a truer representation than his master Giani, Bellino, or any of his predecessors, who finished every hair. His great care was to express the general colour, to preserve the masses of light and shade, and to give by opposition the idea of that solidity which is inseparable from natural objects. When those are preserved, though with nothing more, the work will have in a proper place its complete effect; but where any of these are wanting, however minutely laboured the picture may be in the detail, the whole will have a false and even an unfinished appearance, at whatever distance, or in whatever light it can be shown.

"It is in vain to attend to the variation of tints, if in that attention the general hue of flesh is lost; or to finish ever so minutely the parts, if the masses are not observed or the whole not well put together."

Reynolds's discourses on painting will of course be collected and published: until now they have only appeared in magazines and

newspapers. It is much to be feared, that this great painter will not be able to attend to his profession much longer: he recently had a paralytic stroke, from which, however, he has partially recovered; and, though his sight begins to fail, he continues working at his easel.

How much it is to be regretted that a general and public collection of paintings has not been established in this country! I may venture to assert, that a greater number of works of genius are to be met with in noblemen's and gentlemen's houses, than in all Europe put together. I have had an opportunity of seeing the fine collection at Chiswick. Subjoined is a list.* I have heard many Eng-

* The catalogue here referred to is without critical illustrations from Mirabeau's pen; therefore, as the Duke of Devonshire's collection has experienced great changes within the last half century, its insertion here has not been thought requisite.—Ed.

lishmen say, that were any large building to be appropriated to the purpose, in half a century the greater part of the private collections would become national property, either by purchase or bequest.

M.

LETTER LXXX.

Epistle from Voltaire to Lord Chesterfield.

London.

THE following letter has never appeared in France: it is quite *à la Voltaire.* The gentleman to whom I am indebted for its perusal tells me, that the philosopher corresponded for many years with the late Lord Chesterfield. I must endeavour to get a sight of these letters.

"You desire to have my thoughts on the present state of Europe: I rather expected you would have asked my opinion about other matters which I happened to be thinking of, when your last letter was brought me by Mr T.

"It took two or three of the first years, after the Paris peace, before the rulers of kingdoms and states could think themselves relieved, or at ease, from the inroads of the wild beasts of the forest. Three years more were taken up in making fences. The rest, even to this hour, has been employed in sharpening weapons. One, I suspect,

has laid a train of such a dangerous nature, as must soon kindle into flame, and set the whole house on fire. We shall not, probably, stay to see much of it." Your spot has passed the meridian; luxury has taken root; the unexpected wealth got from the poor of a distant country by robbery, has changed the bulwark of the English constitution—your House of Commons. The people, who have ruled your young King, and the kingdom, never were taught the right idea of what we used to define liberty. Such blindness and obstinacy, or what is worse, is doubtless permitted.

"Provisions, which I find by your public papers, are dear in England, will not be lower till taxes on the industrious are lessened, and that cannot happen till your national debt is reduced. The rulers of Europe, I am afraid, have it in their power to prevent that event now. If I was one of the band, I could find the turnpike road. In the midst of your nation's folly and blindness, I can see a new world opening that will prove an asylum for all your honest industrious people. And I think, a few years will discover the island of Britain to have for its inhabitants, only *two sorts of animals*—tyrants and slaves."

LETTER LXXXI.

A Metaphysical Age—Sybillean Leaves *and* Lettres de Cachet—*No Man a Prophet in his own Country*—*Doctors differ*—*Price* versus *Paley*—*Animadversions on Paley's* "Moral and Political Philosophy."

London.

You will have received Dr. Paley's works before this can reach you. I have not had time sufficient to peruse them with the attention all my friends say they deserve; but, candidly speaking, works of this description are not at present much to my taste—although this is becoming, if it be not already, a metaphysical age. However, if I mistake not, we shall have, before the close of the century, more than conjectures—more than theories. But this letter has nothing to do with prophecies: on a future occasion, you shall receive a few *Sybillean* leaves;—take care they are not

blown away, because, as I propose returning, in a few months, to Paris, these identical leaves might be converted into positive *Lettres de Cachet.* This is a fit opportunity for verifying the adage, "That no one is a prophet in his own country;" *ergo,* I may be one when absent from my Penates.

Doctors, you will find by the subjoined, differ materially. Dr. Paley says "Yes;" Dr. Price says "No:" perhaps they are both in the right;—yet that were difficult, because every thing is possible except that which involves a contradiction. However, read Dr. Price's strictures on Dr. Paley, and communicate them to our friend the Abbé: he can insert them in the next edition of his religious and political pamphlet; it will only be, as Sterne says, "pouring out of one bottle into another." *Valē.*

The Abbé will feel delighted at the political opinions of Dr. Price; he must therefore quote him as an authority.

"According to this writer (Dr. Paley) our notions of moral distinctions are derived, neither from a *moral sense*, nor from *instinct* of any kind, nor from intellectual discernment and the nature of things. On the contrary; he makes them, if I understand him, to be a kind of habit of thinking (or prejudices) which we derive from education and the circumstances in which we grow up to mature life. To be *obliged* to an action, he says, is 'to be urged to it by a violent motive, resulting from the command of another.' At the same time he asserts that this motive can be only self-love: and that we can be obliged to nothing, that will not, in some way, contribute to our interest, so that (were there no future state) an action by which we could *get* nothing would be perfectly indifferent to us; and, if it puts us to the smallest degree of pain, we should be under an obligation to avoid it, though we could save by it a kingdom, or make a world happy. What makes the difference, he says, between *prudence* and *duty* is, that, in the one case, we consider what we shall get or lose in *this* world; and in the other, what we shall get or lose in a *future* world. A man, therefore, who either does not believe in a future world, or who does not carry his views to it, can have no perception of duty. Dr. Paley's definition of *right* is 'the being consistent with the will of God.' Rectitude, therefore, can be no guide to God's will itself; and to say, that his will is a *righteous* will, is the same with saying, that his will is his will, all that he wills to do being for that very reason right and fit.

In short, Dr. Paley's theory of morals seems to be resolvable into these two propositions: 'that God's command is the measure and standard of all duty;' and 'that the duty itself of obeying his command, is the necessity of obeying it in order to avoid punishment." Never indeed have I met with a theory of morals which has appeared to me more exceptionable; and when I think of it, I cannot wonder much at the assertion of Dr. Paley, which would, were it true, overthrow all public securities depending on tests and subscriptions. I mean the assertion, that the declaration made by a clergyman on entering his office, that he unfeignedly assents to articles of faith framed on purpose to prevent a diversity of opinions, (and containing the doctrines of the Trinity, predestination, original sin, justification by faith alone, &c.) means no more than that he is neither a papist, a baptist, nor an anti-episcopalian. I will take this opportunity to add, that of the same kind with this account of morals, is the account which Dr. Paley gives of the principles of politics. 'Civil liberty' (he says, page 441) 'is the not being restrained by any laws except such as do more good than harm, or have a beneficial tendency:' and should it be enquired, where is the power lodged of making laws and of judging of their tendency? he would answer, not in the people, for the right of legislation, according to him, is not founded on the consent of the people; nor do civil rulers derive their authority from any compact between them and their people. He denies the existence of any such compact,

whether *tacit* or *express;* and, in opposition to Mr. Locke's sentiments on this subject, maintains that civil authority derives it from the *Patriarchal* authority, and is the donation of the Deity collected (undoubtedly by civil governors themselves) from public expediency, (page 423.) There is likewise in these lectures a defence of standing armies, and of the inadequateness of our parliamentary representation. But what is most of all remarkable is, that whereas Sir William Blackstone, Mr. Locke, Montesquieu, &c., have made the essence of the British monarchical constitution to consist in the independency of the three states which compose it of one another; Dr. Paley, on the contrary, asserts that since the retrenchment of prerogative at the revolution, the influence of the Crown is become a necessary part of the Constitution, and he concludes a chapter on this subject with saying, 'that an independent Parliament is incompatible with our monarchy.' I am very sensible of the merits of many parts of this work; but these parts of it I have read with surprise, and also with concern, the pain of which has been much increased by the reflection, that they contain principles which have been inculcated for many years at *Cambridge,* and which, therefore, probably have been imbibed by many young persons when under preparation for public life."

LETTER LXXXII.

Regrets and Apologies for the Publication of a Profane Work—The Sublime in Poetry—Description of the War-horse in the Book of Job *—Witches in Macbeth—Omens preceding the Death of Dido—Descriptions of the Horse, in Homer, Virgil, and Job.*

London.

I am willing to make the *amende honorable*, my dear Abbé; but you must wait till my return, which I trust is not far distant, though I shall most probably visit Germany before I can possibly see you. Those works, the copyright of which belongs to booksellers, I can have no control over; amongst others, the *Bib. Errat.*:* which I sincerely regret should ever have appeared. What tempted

* A most profane work which he wrote during his imprisonment in Vincennes, during the years 1777, 1778, 1779, and 1780.—Ed.

me to write it I cannot now tell: not the "*herbe tendre,*" for there was none at Vincennes; but I suppose it was "*le diable poussant.*"* Forget not, my dear Abbé, that not much more than five lustres had passed over my head! Indeed, as I have already said, when I have it in my power I will endeavour to suppress this and other writings.

In conversing the other day with Romilly's friend, upon poetry, he made the following judicious remarks, in all of which I coincide, and more particularly in the observations upon the sublime description of the war-horse, in the book of Job. Why these reformed islanders have thought proper to place this book amongst the apocryphal writings, you, my most learned theologian, can possibly say. If any of the Scriptures partake of inspiration, this appears, to me, to indicate a divine origin. But listen to what R.'s friend says:—

* A quotation from La Fontaine's Fables, "*Les animaux malades de la peste.*"

"Poetry is sublime, when without any great pomp of images or of words, it infuses horror by a happy choice of circumstances. When Macbeth (in Shakspeare) goes to consult the witches, he finds them performing rites in a cave; and upon asking them what they were employed about, receives no other answer than this short one—'a deed without a name.' One's blood runs cold at the thought, that their work was of so accursed a nature, that they themselves had no name to express it by, or were afraid to speak of it by any name.

"Here is no solemnity of style, nor any accumulation of great ideas; yet here is the true sublime: because here is something that astonishes the mind, and fills it, without producing any bad inconvenience.

"Among other omens, which preceded the death of Dido, Virgil relates that, when she was making an oblation of wine, she observed the milk to grow black, and found that the wine was changed into blood. This the poet improves into a circumstance of the utmost horror, when he adds, that she never mentioned it to any person, not even to her sister, who was her confidante on all other occasions; insinuating, that it filled her with so dreadful apprehensions, that she had not courage even to attempt to speak of it."

"Homer and Virgil have, each of them, given a description of a horse, which is very much and justly celebrated. But they dwell rather upon the swiftness and

beauty of the animal, or upon such of his passions as have little or no dignity; and therefore their descriptions, though most elegant and harmonious, cannot properly be termed sublime. In the book of Job, we have the picture of a war-horse in the most magnificent style. The inspired writer expatiates upon the nobler qualities of that animal, his strength, impetuosity, and contempt of danger; and several of the words made use of, being figurative, and, in their proper meaning, expressive of human emotions, convey uncommon vivacity and elevation to the whole passage. 'Hast thou given the horse strength? Hast thou clothed his neck with thunder?' alluding, perhaps, either to the noise of cavalry approaching, or to their speed, which the poet insinuates may be compared to that of lightning. 'Canst thou make him afraid as a grasshopper? the glory of his nostrils is terrible:' that is, the breath coming from his nostrils, which appear red with distension, make him look as if fire and smoke were issuing from them; an idea which Virgil has finely expressed in that line,

Collectumque premens volvit sub naribus ignem.

'He paweth in the valley, and rejoiceth in his strength; he goeth on to meet the armed men. He mocketh at fear and is not affrighted, neither turneth he back from the sword. The quiver rattleth against him, the glittering spear and the shield. He swalloweth the ground with fierceness and rage;' which probably signifies, according to some translators, 'he looks as if he would

swallow the ground;' 'neither believeth he that it is the sound of the trumpet. He saith among the trumpets, ha, ha;' despises their alarm as much as we do that of a threatening which only provokes our laughter; 'and he smelleth the battle afar off, the thunder of the captains and the shouting.' Besides the grandeur of the animal, as here painted, the sublimity of the passage is heightened exceedingly by the landscape; which presents to our view an army in order of battle, and makes us think we hear the clashing armour and the shouts of encountering multitudes."

LETTER LXXXIII.

Enthusiastic Admiration of Lord Chatham—Dissimilarity of Opinion between Lord Chatham and his Son, on the Subject of Religious Toleration—Dr. Price's Narrative of the Proceedings of the Dissenters, to obtain a Repeal of the Test Laws—Lord Chatham's Cordial Support of the Measure.

London.

You will read the following remarks, by Dr. Price, with pleasure. The more I hear of that great man, Lord Chatham, the more enthusiastic is the admiration I feel for his talents, his virtues. The son does not appear to think upon the subject of religious toleration as his father did.

" It has been unfortunate for the Dissenters that, in their applications for a repeal of the Test Laws, they have been opposed by Mr. Pitt. He has contended that, on account of their not believing and worshipping as the Church of England does, they ought to be excluded from that eligibility to public offices which is the right of

other citizens, and consequently denied a *complete* toleration; acknowledging, however, their integrity, and respectableness, but reckoning it only the more necessary on that account to preserve the national church against them. Such sentiments in these times can do no honour to any man, much less to a son of the late Lord Chatham, whose opinion of toleration and Protestant Dissenters may be learnt from the following account.

"In 1769 and 1772, the ministers among the Dissenters applied to Parliament for relief from the obligation they were then under to subscribe the doctrinal articles of the Church of England, in order to be entitled to a toleration, and both times succeeded in the House of Commons, in consequence of Lord North's neutrality, but were defeated in the House of Lords, in consequence of an opposition from the Episcopal Bench. They persevered, however; the Bishops repented; and a third application proved successful in both Houses.

"In the debate occasioned in the House of Lords by the *second* application, Dr. Drummond, the Archbishop of York, having called the Dissenting ministers 'men of close ambition,' Lord Chatham said, that this was judging uncharitably, and that whoever brought such a charge against them without proof, defamed. Here he paused; and then went on—'The Dissenting ministers are represented as men of close ambition. They are so, my Lords; and their ambition is to keep *close* to the college of fishermen, not of cardinals, and to the doctrines

of inspired apostles, not to the decrees of interested and aspiring bishops. They contend for a spiritual creed, and scriptural worship: we have a Calvinistic creed, a Popish liturgy, and an Arminian clergy. The Reformation has laid open the Scriptures to all. Let not the bishops shut them again. Laws in support of ecclesiastical power are pleaded for, which it would shock humanity to execute. It is said that religious sects have done great mischief, when they were not kept under restraint; but history affords no proof that sects have ever been mischievous, when they were not oppressed and persecuted by the ruling church."—*See the Parliamentary Debates for* 1772.

"In one of his letters to me (Dr. P.) not long after this debate, dated Burton-Pynsent, January 16, 1773, he expresses himself in the following words:—'In writing to you, it is impossible the mind should not go of itself to that most interesting of all objects to fallen man—TOLERATION. Be assured, that on this sacred and unalienable birthright of nature and bulwark of truth, my warm wishes will always keep pace with your own. Happy, if the times had allowed us to add hopes to our wishes.'"

LETTER LXXXIV.

Possibility of Universal Peace amongst Men—Philanthropic Proposition of the Writer's German Friend, for reducing the Number of Lawyers, and for the Amicable Prevention of Law-suits.

London.

My German friend, whom I mentioned in a former letter as having been sent hither by the Emperor, for the purpose of studying the laws of England, with the intention of meliorating his own, has nearly brought his labours to a conclusion. He will leave London the latter end of next week, but his presence is so indispensable in Vienna, that he will not be able to stop in—nor do I think he can pass through—Paris. Brussels will be his road. This circumstance I regret exceedingly. I should have been much pleased could you have enjoyed the conver

sation of this learned and amiable legislator. I am afraid, however, that in the present state of men and things, his ideas are somewhat Utopian. Something, in that respect, like the good Abbé, who wrote a long work to prove that it was not only possible, but not at all difficult, to make all men live in peace;—that is, not to cut each other's throats, in every country in Christendom, for the honour of Christ, nor experience delight in hearing *Te Deums* chaunted in every tone, from the bass hollow sounds of Herr-Worms, to the shrill, squeaking accents of an emasculated acolyte of the Eternal City.

Well! my Bohemian friend—I believe he is a native of Prague—has taken it into his good-natured brain, that there is a possibility of extirpating, or, at least, diminishing that race of blood-suckers called lawyers. And, what will surprise you still more—or, perhaps, will not surprise you at all, when you consider, that friend Romilly is the most

enthusiastically virtuous man in existence, and therefore imagines the possibility of making every one as good as himself—he also; but, judge for yourself, and then ask, whether the undertaking be not as difficult as that proposed by the Abbé St. Pierre?

"It is of great consequence to remove from the inhabitants of the country all law processes, wherever it is practicable; and, when impossible, to render them as little prejudicial to their affairs as may be.

"It is certain, that litigation, and a passion for law, are infinitely mischievous. The sums paid by clients to their pleaders in pursuit of their causes—the journeys they are obliged to undertake for having them heard—the tediousness of the procedure—the high price at which they often purchase bad advice,—all together rob them of the money and time which ought to be spent in the improvement of their lands.

"The works of the farmer cannot be interrupted, and then neglected, without falling into utter confusion. For cutting short such a ruinous process, and giving a check to knavery and artifice, there are immediately wanted, clear and precise laws, founded on the principles of natural right and wise policy, which, avoiding all ambiguity and subtilty, impart the most simple intelligence. These laws ought to be invariably fol-

lowed, and never left to the explanation of the judge, to pronounce upon assumptions, which are ever arbitrary.

"With such laws, each citizen may readily discover when his pretensions are well, when ill founded. And he is less exposed to bad advice, from those who are interested to confide in their ability for eluding the most just demands. When the laws of a nation are imperfect—when they are obscure, or in many cases abandoned to the arbitrary decision of the judges—if they carry particular causes before the supreme courts, there must infallibly result, at different times, according to the abilities and dispositions of the judges, decisions which contradict one another. What is the consequence? It is, that, in states where such disorders take place, the inhabitants of the country are easily drawn into law by men of business. Ought they to consult advocates and avaricious attorneys? Such seek nothing from their occupations but exorbitant profit, and desire only to flatter their clients in their pretensions, by quoting cases which favour them, without, at the same time, explaining contrary and later decisions, which abrogate the others.

"It is not less desirable, in a well governed state, to abridge the duration of law-suits—their tedious procedures and formalities, which so frequently burthen and impede the decisions of justice.

"True it is, that, in all states where the security of the citizens is well maintained, decisions cannot at once be pronounced upon their interests; and must be allowed

time for a careful examination of their pretensions. But, on the other hand, the obscurity of the process, and its numerous and useless formalities, render justice an unfortunate means of ruining, daily, numbers who trust in it.

"The chicaneries of law are the ordinary refuge of bad faith. They occasion, to all sorts of industry, an irreparable expense and loss of time; they open a door for the voracity of lawyers, who alone are competent to explore, and guide themselves through such a labyrinth.

"Would you at once stay the ravages of chicanery, and free the people from the mischief of evil councils? We cannot imagine any thing wiser than the plan of a great king, as illustrious for his virtues as his fault, which he published under the title of '*Philosophie bienfaisante.*' He explained his ideas in these words:—

"'I would not absolutely condemn the custom of buying the opinion of lawyers, and paying them for their labour, but I would prevent the citizens from being deceived in doubtful cases, by advocates who promise them success, when they know there is little hope of it. Instead of these mercenary counsellors, whom I regard as a pest, whose ravages every prince ought to endeavour to terminate, the state should substitute, at its own cost, a certain number of able and disinterested men, who, being consulted by litigating parties, should explain to them, gratuitously, and in a plain manner, the injustice or equity of their pretensions; and by the hopes or fears which they give them, induce them to renounce their views, or encourage them in their pursuit.

" 'I am supposing,' he adds, 'that there is a freedom of consulting the men whom I have mentioned, or of carrying their demands at once to the established tribunals, for supreme and final decision; but where is the citizen who, desirous of hazarding nothing, even in an affair of importance, will neglect the proffered advice of prudence, enlightened by knowledge, and perfectly free from prejudice? Where is the citizen who, seeing himself condemned by respectable men, will afterwards dare to have recourse to a judge?'

" These arrangements would diminish, insensibly, the number of advocates, procurators, attorneys, and other lawyers; and, in their place, if they honoured, and paid due respect to the persons who laboured for an amicable settlement of their differences, peace would reign in the country. The people might then be assured of repose."

LETTER LXXXV.

Whether the Clergy are to ride upon Asses or in Coaches-and-Six—Church Pastors, Tithes, and Ecclesiastical Property—Proposed Bill for the Abolition of Tithes—Distribution of the Property of the Church—Speech upon Church Property, delivered, in the National Assembly, on the 1st *of November,* 1789, *to shew that every Nation is the Sole and True Proprietor of the Property of the Clergy—Decree of the National Assembly, in Conformity with this Principle.*

London.

Our *coterie* last night got upon the subject of religion;—not as to its truth—not as to its necessity;—there was no dispute on that matter, although you might have expected it; for Romilly, I believe, is a Church-of-England-man—Elliot, *ditto*—Brown, a Unitarian—Goldsmidt, a Jew; and myself, I suppose, an *Iconologist*—one of the worshippers of images, as my friends, the English, please to denominate the Catholics.

Now the question almost came to this—whether the Pastors of the Church, in imitation of the primitive Christians, were to ride upon asses, or in carriages drawn by six horses. A gentleman, who appeared amongst us for the first time, proposed a plan which was, of course, both approved and opposed, as suited the views of the speakers and thinkers. Romilly has given me the heads: here they are: they meet only partially with my approbation. My next letter, which, by-the-by, I must at another time amplify into a book, or a speech—for who knows whether I may not one day be an orator—thanks to Chatham, and now Pitt, Burke, Sheridan, Fox, Wilkes, *et multi alii!*—well, my next letter* shall give you, in a few words, my opinion about church pastors, tithes, and ecclesiastical property. However, you, who

* This letter has not been found; perhaps it was not even written; but Mirabeau, four years after this period, made the subjoined speech, in which he embodied his ideas on church property.—EDITOR.

are interested and learned in these matters—yourself a *Cæsar* in theology—now listen to the Brutus—a friend of Romilly. Let a bill be carried, says the gentleman, which shall abolish *in toto* that hateful practice of tithing, which has done more harm to the cause of religion than all the immorality of the world put together. For this purpose, let every proprietor of lands be obliged to purchase the tithes of his estate, by a fair valuation of their worth, at the current price of land; not, however, by the actual payment of the principal sum, but by subjecting his property to the regular discharge of interest thereon, at the rate of four *per cent.* These points secured, let there be a much more judicious distribution of the property of the Church; first, by lopping off all useless limbs, which serve only to disfigure the tree, or deprive its extremities of their proper nourishment; and, afterwards, by making a suitable provision for every necessary branch left remaining of that venerable stock. M.

SPEECH UPON CHURCH PROPERTY;

Delivered on the First of November, 1789.*

THERE can be no doubt of the right which the government possesses in the civil order—the government and the church in the order of religion—to dispose of ancient foundations, to turn their estates to new purposes, or, better still, to suppress them entirely. Public utility is the supreme law, and must not be called in question, either by a superstitious respect for what is termed the intention of founders, as though ignorant and narrow-minded individuals had had the right to chain down, at their capricious will, generations yet unborn; or by the fear of wounding certain bodies, as though private bodies could have any right respecting the state. Citizens have rights—sacred rights—for the body even of society,—they exist independently of it; they are the necessary elements of it; they enter into it only to place themselves,

* There is great inaccuracy, and great obscurity, in many parts of this speech. In fact, the MS.—apparently a very rough draught—is occasionally unintelligible. This intimation must be received by the reader as an apology for its imperfections in style, &c.

TRANS.

with all these rights, under the protection of the same laws to which they sacrifice their liberty. But private bodies neither exist by themselves nor for themselves: they have been formed for society, and they must cease to exist the moment they cease to be useful. Let us conclude, that no work of man is found to be immortal; foundations, constantly multiplying by variety, would ultimately absorb every estate—every description of private property—and it would become necessary to destroy them.

If every man who has lived, had had a grave-stone, it would be necessary, in order to find land for cultivation, to overturn these sterile monuments, and to scatter the ashes of the dead, to produce nourishment for the living.

If you think that founders, that is private citizens, in giving their property to the clergy, and the clergy in receiving it, have the right of creating a corporation in the state, giving it the power to acquire—precluding the nation from the right of dissolving it—forcing it to admit within its bosom, as proprietors, a large body to whom so many sources of credit already impart a formidable influence, then, respect the property of the clergy! The plan I propose would strike at its root.

But if, in despite of private foundations, the nation have retained all its rights—if you can declare that the clergy is not an order—that the clergy is not a body—that the clergy, in a well organized state, ought not to possess property—it follows, that its possession was only precarious, only momentary; that its estates have never been a true property; that, in accepting them from

the founders, it was for religion, for the poor, for the service of the altars, that it received them; and that the intention of those who have given property to the church will not be deceived, as they must have foreseen that the administration of this property would pass into other hands, if the nation gained its rights.

I would say, that the clergyman is not even a tenant, but a dispensator. I would add, if it were possible to prescribe against nations, that the possessors of the greater part of the church property having been, time out of mind, at the nomination of the king, the nation has not ceased to preserve, through its chief, the rights that it has always been entitled to, over these same properties.

I will say again, that if church property be directed to public worship, the temples and altars belong to society and not to their ministers; that, if they be destined for the poor, the poor and their misfortunes belong to the state; that, if they be employed to the subsistence of the priesthood, every class of society can contribute ministers to the priesthood.

I would also remark, that all the members of the clergy are state officers; that the service of the altars is a public function; and that religion belonging to all, by that reason alone the ministers of religion ought to be in the pay of the nation, as the magistrate who judges in the name of the law, as the soldier who defends in the name of all common property.

I conclude from this principle, that, if the clergy pos-

sessed no revenue, the state would be obliged to subsist them. Now, certainly, a property which serves only to pay our debts, does not belong to us.

I conclude, moreover, that the clergy has been eligible to the acquisition of property, only for the purpose of easing the burthen of the state; as, in giving it, the founders have only done in its stead what the nation ought to have done.

I would also say, that if the reflections I have just made apply perfectly to property given by founders, it would apply with stronger reason to the property acquired by the clergy themselves; by the produce of church property, the agent, or proxy, being able to acquire only for his principal; and the violation of the will of the founders unable to convey more real rights than this will admit.

I must observe, that, although priesthood amongst us is not united to the empire, religion and the state ought to be united. If religion flourish under the protection of the state, it ought to be ready to defend the state. Indeed, what would become of religion were the state to fall? Ought the great calamities of a people to be strangers to their ministers of peace and charity, who are every day imploring the Almighty to bless his faithful people? Would the clergy preserve their property, if the state could no longer defend that of other citizens? Would this pretended property be respected if every other were seized? I would say—never did the navy appropriate to itself the vessels which the people

have built for the defence of the state;—never, in our present state of morals, did an army divide amongst its soldiers the country it might have conquered. Would it be true with regard to the clergy alone, that conquests made by its piety upon those of the faithful must remain to it, and be inviolable, instead of forming a part of the indivisible domains of the state?

In short, if I wished to consider so great a question, under all its bearings, with respect to the new constitution of the kingdom—with respect to moral principles and political economy—I would first examine whether it were suited to the new order of things we have just established, that government, the distributor of all the ecclesiastical riches by the appointment of incumbents, should keep, for that sole reason, infinite means of action, corruption, and influence?

I would ask, whether, in the interest even of religion and public morals, those benefactors of mankind, it is not necessary that a more equitable division of church property should not oppose itself, in future, to the luxury of those who are only the dispensators of the property of the poor,—to the licentiousness of those whom religion and society hold up to the people as an ever living example of purity of manners. I would say to those who would obstinately resolve to look upon an institution useful to society—that of a clergy—proprietors—to examine maturely if in neighbouring countries the ministers of worship be the less respected because they are not proprietors;—whether they obtain and deserve

less confidence; whether their morals be less pure; their enlightenment less extensive, their influence on the people less active—I would almost say less beneficial, less salutary?

It is not, you must observe, either our holy religion or our divine precepts that I wish to confound with errors; I speak only of men—I only consider the ministers of worship regarding their situation with civil society; and, certainly, when I am thus expressing myself before the select amongst the French clergy—before those citizens-pastors who have seconded us with all their efforts—who have edified us by so many sacrifices—I am well assured that no false interpretation will pervert my intentions or my sentiments.

I now retrace my steps. What have I proved, gentlemen, by the details into which I have entered?

My object has not been to demonstrate that the clergy ought to be deprived of their property, nor that other citizens or other purchasers ought to be put in their place.

I did not either intend to maintain, that the creditors of the state should be paid with the property of the clergy, as there is not a more sacred debt than the expenses of worship, the keeping up of temples, and the alms of the poor. Neither did I wish to say, that you ought to deprive the clergy of the administration of their property and revenues, the produce of which ought to be assured to them. Indeed, what interest should we have in substituting fiscal agents for faithful

economists—in rejecting pure hands for very suspicious ones?

What then, gentlemen, have I wished to show? A single thing—and this principle must be admitted—*that every nation is the sole and true proprietor of the property of the clergy.* I have only asked you to establish this principle; because errors or truths either save or destroy nations; but, at the same time, in order that no one shall entertain a doubt as to the generosity of the French nation towards the most necessary and the most respected of its members, I move, "that no curate, not even a country one, shall receive less than 1200 *livres* a year." *

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* About 500*l.* The motion was carried by a majority of 568 against 346. Forty members did not vote. This is the decree:—The national assembly decrees, 1st, that all ecclesiastical property belongs to the nation, with the charge of providing, in a proper manner, for the expenses of worship, the support of its ministers, the relief of the poor, under the inspection and instruction of the provinces. 2dly, that, in the dispositions to be made to provide for the members of religion, no curate shall receive less than 1200 *livres per annum*, exclusively of house, garden, and dependencies.

FRAGMENTS OF LETTERS.

Surrender of Lord Cornwallis's Army in America—Dreadful Catastrophe, resulting from a Belief in Witchcraft—La Bruyère, the Actor, and Corneille—Folly of regretting the Evil that is past—Moral Certainty that Determination of Character will ultimately triumph—Mirabeau's Third Memoir—Expressions of Mirabeau ascribed to Buonaparte—Saying of Marcus Aurelius—Difference between Persons and Things—Indisposition—Advantages of Exercise, and of friendly Letters—Anecdote of a Physician—The Straight Line the Shortest—Rogues fall not from the Hands of Lucifer in Heaps—Death a Noble Invention of Nature—Importance of Mind—Errors of great Men—"Friendship, Love, and Glory"—*Reflections on the Death of Friends—We please those only, whom we Resemble*—Nothing *is impossible to the Man of Determination—Uncertainty of Life—Impatience of an Ardent Mind—Love of Glory in Death as in Life—All Men cannot be Great and Shining Lights—Interception of Letters by the Police—Advantages of Patience, and Folly of Precipitation, exemplified—Value of a Good Woman—Epigram.*

November 20, 1781.

I HAVE just received a letter from my brother.* He was present at the most decisive event of the war; and, as he is Aide-Major-General of his division, he was one of the masters of the ceremonies, the day Cornwallis's troops filed off. A lamentable fate indeed for so brave a man, to see himself reduced, by the blunders of the cabinet of St. James's, to so great a humiliation! The troops of Lord Cornwallis are very fine: there is a batallion of the English Guards, the 25th, the 33rd, and the 80th Regiment. The Britannic Legion, the Queen's Volunteers, the Scotch Highlanders, the Light Infantry, two regiments of Anspach, one of Bareith, one of the Hereditary Prince, one of Bass, all Hessians; and, besides the

* Viscount Mirabeau — nick-named *Mirabeau Tonneau*, then serving in America, with La Fayette, against the English.

4800 men, 1200 armed sailors, (*matelots*—probably marines) for the artillery service.

This is the first time during the war, that they have followed any thing like a plan.

Bignòn, June 22, 1782.

A most horrid event has just taken place in a village not more than a quarter of a league from this place. An inhabitant of the hamlet had been bed-ridden, during several years, from an attack of paralysis. He took it into his head, that his neighbour, the blacksmith, had fixed some spell upon him; he communicated his dream to his children, and the fatal dream became a reality! They consulted the curate, who thought the circumstance possible. The father and children made up their minds; a large fire was lighted; the blacksmith was invited to supper. The moment he passed the threshold, the door was closed; they stripped him and

threw him into the fire, on which they held him down, to force him to break the spell. His cries excited alarm. The neighbours send for the curate; the doors were opened for him. You will imagine him to be struck with shame at this horrid sight? No—this *imbecile*, also, whose duty it is to teach the people, believed in the existence of sorcerers! He charitably exhorted the blacksmith to acknowledge himself, and to break the charm. In vain did the unfortunate man protest that he was innocent. The curate abandoned him; and, a few minutes afterwards, the poor wretch expired upon a dunghill, on which, half burnt to death, the besotted idiots had thrown him.

The brutes have undergone an examination. Good God! how ashamed one sometimes is at being a man!

La Bruyère has said.—"*The actor, lolling in his carriage, splashes mud in the face*

of Corneille, who is on foot"..... I reply: —"Would you rather be the actor than Corneille?" — "No." — "The fate of Corneille, then, is preferable; and the carriage has nothing to do with the matter."

All events are either good or bad. If good, we must rejoice; if bad, none but fools will suffer themselves to lose, in vain regret, the time, or strength, that may be necessary to repair the evil. Men and things *must obey* the man who, with strength of mind and determination of character, and not wasting his energies in vain show, resolves to carry his point. "I have commenced the campaign without resources, and upon unfavourable ground; but—it is *I* who have commenced the campaign!" and, when we make up our mind to perish but with exhaustion—checked by no obstacle—determined to surmount every difficulty by which we may be opposed and, constantly, again and again to return

to the charge—to assail the same points—you are sure to triumph, or—die!

Connoisseurs call my third *memoire* Count Mirabeau's Philippic. You will, I think, be satisfied with it. It refers to the relationship of *dear* Sombarde: and, if that be not eloquence unknown to our slavish ages, I know not what that bewitching and so rare a gift of heaven can be!

"*We will tire out Count Mirabeau,*" said M. de Monnier's council, at the sitting of the 27th of April. "*No! You shall not tire me out; and you shall no more see me depressed by adversity than elevated by prosperity.*"*

* It is curious that these very words have been ascribed to Buonaparte; but, as before observed, Napoleon was indebted to Mirabeau for more than one of his bold expressions. These words are the first lines of the third memoir against the Marquis de Monnier and M. Sombarde.

Once for all, understand me well; my dear friend; formidable obstacles never render me impatient.—"*You must never be angry with* THINGS," said Marcus Aurelius, "*for that causes them no injury.*" *Persons*, it is true, sometimes excite my indignation; but *things* always find me resolute.

My health is far from being good. The stormy weather causes me violent head-aches; and my stomach is always out of order; but exercise, and letters from my friends, will be sure to cure me. You know that Malouin, who was a doctor—a doctor in every sense—after having prescribed a number of remedies for a celebrated man of letters, who punctually took them all, and, notwithstanding, recovered from his illness, said, in embracing him, "You are worthy to be a sick man (*digne d'être malade*). As for me, I shall never be worthy."

B. is taking you in (*joue au fin avec vous*);

he is a good and honest man, but his office has accustomed him to trickery (*finasser.*) Your character and good sense induce you to take the straight line, which is, in business as in geometry, the shortest; and you will prove more than his equal.

Well, notwithstanding all this,* the water still continues to flow, the mills to turn, the grass looks green, and here (Bignon) the plains are not dusty, nor has Lucifer, while hovering over our globe to scatter rogues upon its surface, opened his hands so prodigally as to allow them to fall in heaps.

I have often thought that death is one of the finest inventions of nature; but it is when it strikes ourselves, and not those who belong to us.

You see what use I make of you, provided

* An allusion to some political event.

I do not wear you out; but your activity and your ardent soul sustain you. This is, my friend, the greatest of means, the most certain of resources. There is not a skilful general who, with the wisest combinations, has not sometimes made erroneous movements. Frederick has twenty to account for; our Cæsar, eight or ten, of which he acknowledges four; Turenne, two. When such blunders have been committed, nothing but extreme activity of body and mind can repair or correct them. We, at least, are not without mind: it has been given to man, to make up for his follies. But all do not possess it. The greater number are only quarters of eunuchs *(quarts d'eunuques)*; some are only half so, others three quarters, others entirely so: a very few indeed are not so at all. These are the persons who take this revered motto—"*Friendship, love, and glory*"—for allies, all those who are their equals, who are not their personal enemies, and the remainder of the world for subjects.

I feel, most sensibly, the loss you have sustained.* How little, indeed, can we depend upon the weak plants called *men*, so difficult to rear, even when they have made their appearance. It seems to me that each successive wound of this nature bleeds more copiously, is more acute in its anguish, as other objects of affection remain. Events, such as these, recal to us their mortal condition.

I easily forget wrongs; my heart is ever the same; tender, proud, and independent; and I think it necessary to exercise my strength, that I may command myself. My sensibility makes me love to please; we please only those whom we resemble; thus I console myself in not pleasing every body. I endeavour only to have estimable friends; and I find it delightful to resemble them in

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* The death of a son.

all those *minutiæ* which do not appertain to great duties, or great plans. This has caused my remarkable facility to be much calumniated: it is not such as it is thought to be; but, even were it so, this quality is not useless. Voltaire has said,

> " Qui n'a pas l'esprit de son âge,
> De son âge a tous les malheurs."

As much may be said of the circumstances of our situation in life: he who cannot meet them *(prendre)* must suffer—will break down upon all occasions—will succeed in nothing. But why should we feel ourselves to be men, unless it be to succeed in every thing and every where, from the people to the king; from frivolities to the profoundest science; from the minutest domestic arrangement to the command of armies, to the government of empires? You must say of nothing " *That is beneath me!*" nor feel that any thing can be out of your power *(rien qui soit au dessus)*. Nothing, in fine, is

impossible to the man who *can*, *will*, and who *knows how to* WILL, in order, and with constancy. *Is that necessary?* THAT SHALL BE. This is the only law.

I am so little certain of living the month after that in which I have conceived a good idea, that I burn with impatience to see it realized, fearful lest it should perish with me, and that Time should cut me down before I can bequeath it to makind; for *we ought no more to die than to live without glory.*

My opinion respecting this world is, that the smallest good as well as the greatest is compensated beyond its worth; and thus I will pass my life in acquirement, physically and morally; knowing well that the *game is not worth the candle.* But I am tormented with my own activity; and when the candle, burnt at both ends, shall be exhausted —— Well, it will go out; but it will have given, for the smallness of its volume, a bright

light. It is not for every one who desires it to become a pharos; to be so, you must be placed upon a tower; and God willed that I should be born in a cellar. However, he allowed that I should not be smothered in it.

I know that my letters are stopped by the police and opened. This is an inquisition worse than the stiletto of Naples, or the bow-string of Constantinople.

Have patience, and recollect that if I fly not to your assistance, I am in every sense of the word bound hand and foot. A hundred times I have been on the point of making a stir (*casser les vitres*). But, think you that all that is necessary is to fix bayonets, march up to the enemy, break through, or perish in their ranks?

There are in the king's army four thousand blockheads (*imbecilles*) of grenadiers, just as capable as you and myself. It is to

struggle with the difficulties of one's position—to elicit advantages from the character and manœuvres even of the enemy; it is in not committing faults; and, in fine, in conquering, that honour and merit consist.

Créqui got his army well thrashed at Consarbrück, and saved himself the last but five, because he would not have patience. Turenne had it during six months together before Montecuculli, and made it necessary for the latter to have patience also. Do you think these fellows *(drôles)* were timid men, and that they could not have attempted a *coup de main* as well as others? But they were not such doïts. These were not civilities that they were paying each other; they had no reason to be complaisant to one another: they were complaisant to themselves, for prudence, for success, for glory.

Take the greatest care of your wife's health—but weak people only attain a great

age—a good woman is so precious a thing! Believe me, my friend, there are very few as good as yours, and to whom, with some degree of reason, the celebrated epigram could not be applied. If you have any regard for your eyes, I would advise you not to translate it to the first lady you meet.

" Aspide quid pejus? tigris; quid tigride? Dæmon:
Dæmone quid? mulier; quid muliere? nihil."

UNPUBLISHED ANECDOTES, MAXIMS, &c.,

BY MIRABEAU.

1. It was said of a certain bishop of Autun, monstrously corpulent, that he had been created and placed upon this earth merely to show to what extent the human skin might be stretched.

2. Of an extremely unlucky man, it was remarked, that should he fall upon his back, he would be sure to break his nose.

3. The Bishop of Lyons being at breakfast, the Abbé de —— paid him a visit: the bishop invited him to partake of the meal; the abbé refused—the prelate insisted. "My lord," said the abbé, "I have breakfasted twice already; and, besides, this is a Fast day."

4. Some persons were speaking of the celebrated discussion, "whether inscriptions should be written in the French or Latin language." "I cannot conceive how there can be any dispute about the matter," said Mr. B.? "I entirely agree with you," answered Mr. T. "Undoubtedly," replied Mr. B.; "they ought to be written in Latin." "Not at all," rejoined Mr. T.; "they ought to be written in French."

5. "Style," observes Marivaux, "is of a gender; and a woman's may be recognised in a single phrase."

6. It was intimated to a young gentleman, that he would act prudently in getting back from a lady nearly forty years of age, certain letters he had written while deeply in love with her. "She probably has not kept them," was the answer. "You are wrong," replied his friend; "women always begin, about the age of thirty, to preserve love letters."

7. Madame de Talmont, seeing M. de Richelieu paying his addresses to Madame de Brionne, a very beautiful woman, but not highly gifted in intellect, said to him:—"Monsieur le Marechal, you are not blind, but I rather think you are a little deaf."

8. R., while in company with M. de Créqui and several noblemen, was conversing about the rights of the aristocracy, and exclaimed—"We shall be degraded! We shall be ruined!" M. de Créqui repeated, in an under tone,—"We! We!" "Well!" said R., "what is there so extraordinary in that word?" "Only that it is the plural I find so singular."

9. A procession was taking place in the church of St. Genevieve, for the purpose of obtaining dry weather; the relics had scarcely reached the square, when it began to rain with great violence: "Never mind that," said the bishop of Castre; "the saint mistakes us entirely; she thinks we have been praying for wet weather."

10. A person was taken before a magistrate: "What is your employment?" said the latter. "I am a man of

letters—I compose books," was the answer. "But none of those books have ever fallen into my hands," replied the magistrate. — "That is very probable," rejoined the author; "I do nothing for Paris. As soon as one of my works is printed, I send the edition to America: I compose only for the Colonies."

11. When it was enquired in China, whether the missionaries should be allowed openly to preach the Christian religion, the learned men, assembled upon the occasion, are said to have anticipated no danger from the result. They did not foresee, said they, that a religion, in which celibacy is the most perfect state, could be very extensive.

12. The Mussulmans believe, that every thing which is to happen, to the end of the world, is written on a table of light called *Lou*, with a pen of fire called *Calum-azer*, and the writing is named *Caza;* that is, *the inevitable predestination.*

13. When the valour of the Spartans was once mentioned with great applause, in presence of Alcibiades— "I see nothing remarkable in this," said he; "for, considering the wretched life they lead, their particular business ought to be to die." This sarcasm fell from the mouth of a young man brought up in luxury; but he was mistaken: Lacedæmon did not, in the least, envy the happiness of Athens; which made an ancient say— "It was better to live like the Spartans, under good laws, than like the Sybarites, under fragrant bowers.'

14. When La Rochefoucault said, that self-love was

the spring of all our actions, he did not mean pride and vanity, or he would have considered vice as the source of all the virtues; but he intended to intimate, that self-love is nothing more than a sentiment implanted in us by nature; that, in every individual, this sentiment becomes vice or virtue, according to his dispositions and passions; and that self-love, differently modified, was equally productive of pride and of modesty.

15. The story of the Swiss soldier will apply to many circumstances: he was placed as a centinel at one of the gates of the Tuilleries, having received strict orders not to allow any person to come in. A citizen approached, and attempted to enter. "You cannot come in," said the Swiss: "I do not want to go in," said the citizen, "but only to go out, and cross the Pont Royal."—"If you desire only to go out," replied the centinel, "you may pass on."—This tale is the history of Rome. Cæsar appeared in the Forum with the intention of being crowned, and the Romans, for the want of annexing proper ideas to the word Royalty, made no difficulty of granting him, under the title of Imperator, what they would not hear of under that of Rex.

16. We are, says M. de Fontenelle, in order to relate a fact precisely as we have seen it, that is without addition or diminution, to keep so strict a watch over ourselves, that he who pretends he has never caught himself in a lie in this respect, may be concluded a liar.

17. Why did Malherbe prefer Statius to every other poet? Why did Heinsius and Corneille value Lucan

above Virgil? For what reason did Adrian prefer the eloquence of Cato to that of Cicero? How came Scaliger to consider Homer and Horace as far beneath Virgil and Juvenal? Because the esteem we have for an author is proportioned to the analogy between his ideas and those of his reader.

18. The Duchess de la Ferté said, one day, to Madame de S., "I must confess, my dear friend, that I find nobody always in the right but myself."—Let us hear the Talupoins, the Bonzes, the Bramins, the Guebres, the Imans, and the Marabous. When they preach against each other in the assembly of the multitude, does not each of them say, like the Duchess de la Ferté, "Ye people, I assure you, that I alone am always in the right."

19. We praise ourselves for everything we possess: some boast of their dulness, and call it good sense; others praise their beauty; some, puffed up with their riches, place these gifts of fortune to the account of judgment and prudence. One who prints a book in folio, despises the writer of a duodecimo, and fancies himself as superior to the latter as a folio is bigger than a duodecimo.

20. If the young generally display more courage on a death bed, and greater weakness on the scaffold, than the old, it is because, in the first instance, young men preserve more hope, and in the second, suffer a greater loss.

21. The Abbé de Languerue was an extremely learned man, but had not the slightest taste for poetry; like that

geometrician before whom a high eulogium was passed on the tragedy of Iphigenia: such lofty praises excited his curiosity: he requested the person to lend him the tragedy; but, having read some scenes, he returned it, saying—"For my part, I cannot imagine what you find so beautiful in this work: it proves nothing." The abbé equally despised the grandeur of Corneille, and the elegance of Racine; he had, he said, banished all the poets from his library. There are two works, he also used to say, worth more than Homer himself; the first is *Antiquitates Homericæ*, the other, *Homeri Gnomologia, per Duportum.* Whoever has read these two books has read all that is good in Homer, without suffering the fatigue of his tiresome tales.

22. "On my entering into the world," said the President Montesquieu, "I was introduced as a man of genius, and was received favourably enough by the men in place; but when, by the success of the Persian Letters, I had perhaps proved that this character was just, and that I had obtained some esteem from the public, that of the placemen grew cold, and I suffered a thousand mortifications. You must imagine," added he, "that, secretly hurt by the reputation of a man who had obtained some applause, they humbled him out of revenge; a man himself ought to merit many praises to enable him to support patiently the praises of another."

23. The least fault a man in distress commits is a sufficient pretence for the rich to refuse him all assistance; they would have the unfortunate entirely perfect.

24. The presence of the unfortunate has on most men the effect of Medusa's head; at the sight of him, hearts are turned to stone.

25. The public, like particular societies, is determined in its judgments only by motives of interest: it does not give the name of noble to great and heroic actions, but to those that are of public use. When, encouraged by the presence of an army, one man alone fights three others, and overcomes them all—this is undoubtedly a brave action; but it is what a thousand of our grenadiers are capable of, and for which they will never be mentioned in history. Yet, when the safety of an empire formed to subdue the universe depends upon the success of this battle, Horatius is a hero, he is the admiration of his fellow citizens, and his name is celebrated and handed down to the most remote ages.

APOPHTHEGMS,

FROM MIRABEAU'S LETTERS.

1. PHILOSOPHY, like medicine, has many drugs; very few good remedies, and scarcely any specifics.

2. About 150 millions of people are calculated to exist in Europe; double the number in Africa; more than treble the amount in Asia. Supposing that America and the Australian territories only contain half of what our hemisphere possesses, we may boldly assert that more than 100,000 individuals die every day on this globe. A man whose life has not exceeded thirty years, must have escaped about 1400 times this frightful destruction.

3. The greater number of the nobility resemble their ancestors about as closely as an Italian *Cicerone* resembles *Cicero*.

4. Myself, every thing; others, nothing: this is despotism, aristocracy, and their partisans. Myself, is another person; another person, myself: this is the government of the people and its partisans;—now, decide.

5. Nobility, say the aristocracy, is the intermedium between the king and the people—true; just as a sporting dog is the intermedium between the sportsman and the hare.

6. It is an incontrovertible truth, that, in France,

there are seven millions of men who solicit charity, and twelve millions unable to assist them.

7. Flatterers have told princes, that hunting is an image of war; and indeed the peasantry, whose lands are ravaged by it, must agree that it is a tolerably fair representative.

8. In France there is neither public nor nation; for the same reason that lint is not linen.

9. One might aptly apply to the city of Paris the very expression of Saint Theresa respecting hell;—"A place that stinks, and where love exists not."

10. Paris, a city of pleasure, amusement, &c., in which four-fifths of the inhabitants die broken-hearted.

11. The ministers are nothing more than men of business, and are of importance only because the lands of the gentleman, their master, are very considerable.

12. Political economists are surgeons, who have an excellent scalpel and a notched knife, operating marvellously well upon the dead, and torturing the living.

13. That which we know best is, first, what we have discovered; secondly, what we have learned by experience respecting men and things; thirdly, what we have learned, not in books, but through the means of books,—that is to say, by the reflections they have caused us to make; fourthly, what we have learned in books, or with masters.

14. Success produces success, just as money produces money.

15. Men of letters love those whom they amuse, as travellers love those they astonish.

16. I would apply to metaphysicians what Scaliger said of the Basque people,—"It is asserted that they understood one another, but I do not believe it!"

17. A man is not a sensible man, because he has a vast number of ideas, any more than a general is a good general, because he has a great many soldiers.

18. Aristotle, in his Rhetoric, justly remarks that every metaphor founded on analogy must be equally correct in the reversed sense. Thus, of old age it is said, that it is the winter of life; reverse the metaphor, and you will find it equally true, in saying, that winter is the old age of the year.

19. The most rational and therefore truest remark that has been made with respect to the great question—which is the better, the married or the single state? is the following: "Whichever resolution you come to, repentance will follow."

20. Love pleases more than marriage, as novels are more entertaining than history.

21. I have noticed, when reading the Bible, that, in several passages, where mankind are reproached with crimes and abominations, the sacred writer calls them the children of men; when folly and weakness are described, they are called the children of women.

22. A life of contemplation is not unfrequently a miserable one: a man should be active, think less, and not watch life too closely.

23. All is vanity amongst men, their joy as well as their sorrow: it is better, however, that the soap-bubble should glitter with gold, or wear an azure tint,

than be overcast with clouds, or what painters of nature call a dim obscurity.

24. Calumny is like the wasp that teazes, and against which you must not attempt to defend yourself, unless you are certain to destroy it; otherwise it returns to the charge more furious than ever.

25. He who has no character is not a man but a thing.

26. A man of wit is lost, if to this quality he add not energy of character: he who has the lantern of Diogenes should also possess his staff.

27. Conversations resemble travels by water: you imperceptibly leave the land, and observe that you have quitted the shore only when you are already at a great distance.

28. If you wish to please in this world, you should muster resolution sufficient to allow yourself to be taught many things which you know, by persons who know nothing about them.

29. The man possessed of superior mental qualifications is often little suited to society. You do not go to market with ingots, but with silver, or small change.

30. Ways the most absurd, forms the most ridiculous, are, in France and elsewhere, under the patronage of the phrase—"It is the custom;" like the Hottentot, who, being asked by a European, why he ate locusts, and devoured the vermin that crawled about him, answered —"It is the custom!"

31. The world and society resemble a library, which, at first sight, appears to be according to rule, because the

books are placed with regularity upon the shelves, as to the form and size of the volumes; but, in reality, all is in disorder, because nothing is arranged in the order of the sciences.

32. Whatever nonsense may have been written by the physiognomists of our time, this is clear,—that a certain habit of thought may determine a particular feature in the countenance. You will remark deceit in the eye of a courtier, for the same reason that most tailors are bandy-legged.

33. Society is composed of two great classes: they who have more dinners than appetite, and they who have more appetite than dinners.

34. Sham-modesty is the most decent of all falsehoods.

35. Man comes into the world naked, and lives with clothing, as he is born independent and lives under the laws. Garments, in some degree, impede the motion of the body, but they protect it against inclemency of the weather. Laws arrest the passions, but they defend honour, life, and property.

36. The body politic is like a tree; as it proceeds upwards, it stands as much in need of heaven, as of earth.

37. A people without a territory and without a religion, would perish, like Antæus, suspended between heaven and earth.

38. Our tastes and our passions degrade us less than our opinions and our errors. Rousseau lowered himself more in public estimation, by his "*Confessions*," than by his paradoxes.

39. Love, which lives in storms and often increases in the midst of treachery, cannot always resist the calm of fidelity.

40. No man would wish to be alone in this world; not even the miser, although he could possess all—not even the envious man, although surrounded by ruins.

41. The light-footed Envy, that lives by conversation, is called Scandal:—she laughingly relates all the evils, of the existence of which she is uncertain, and prudently withholds the good which she knows her rival is in possession of. But Calumny is recognized by graver symptoms; filled with hatred and envy, it is no fault of hers, that her tongue is not a dagger.

42. The modest man has every thing to gain, the proud man has every thing to lose: for modesty always comes in contact with generosity—pride with envy.

43. Vices are more frequently habits than they are passions.

44. The incredulity (in matters of religion) of a learned man is an error, which he keeps a secret; but incredulity in a young man, being the fruit of his passions and not of his studies, is always indiscreet, always inexcusable, and never without danger.

45. The existence of God explains the existence of the world; the existence of the world, proves the existence of God; but the Athiest denies God even in his very presence.

46. The universe is composed of concentric circles arranged one around the other, and corresponding with

marvellous harmony—from the insect to man, from the atom to the sun, even to that one mysterious Being which serves as a centre, and which is the "Ego, of the universe."

47. In ordinary subjects, the most just ideas are often the most noble; in speaking of the Divinity, the most noble will always appear to us the most just.

48. Philosophy * is wanting in tenderness to the miserable, in magnificence to the poor: according to its doctrines, the miseries of life are merely evils without a remedy, and death is eternal sleep. Religion, on the contrary, exchanges this misery for endless felicity, and proclaims that the evening of life touches the Aurora of an eternal day.

49. Morality raises a more lofty and a more imposing tribunal than the laws of man: religion not only ordains that we should avoid evil, but that we should do good; not only that we should appear virtuous, but that we should be so in reality—depending not upon public esteem, which may be acquired, but upon our own esteem, which never deceives us.

50. When I ask myself, says Montaigne, whence can arise that joy, that pleasure, that repose which I feel when I see my friend, all I can say is—"That it is he, that it is myself." Pythagoras has also justly said—"When I am with my friend, I am not alone, and we are not two." Cicero, too, speaking of friendship, calls

* This applies to free-thinkers.

it a "necessity;" and Aristotle, "one soul in two bodies."

51. Friendship between a monarch and a subject must always be in fear, like the nymph in the fable, who was in continual dread lest her lover, Jupiter, might one day forget himself, and appear in her presence with his dreadful thunder-bolts.

52. Gold, like the sun which melts wax and hardens clay, develops great minds and contracts bad hearts.

53. If poverty make men sigh, riches make him yawn. When fortune exempts us from labour, nature loads us with the weight of time.

54. Palissot, who, by turns, is a free-thinker and a religious man, resembles the hare, which, running between two armies about to give battle, excited universal laughter on both sides.

55. R—— used to say of the Duke of Orleans, whose face was covered with pimples, and of a purple hue—debauchery had dispensed with his blushing.

56. The people is a sovereign always in want of food; his Majesty is perfectly quiet, when in the act of digesting.

57. How many military persons of distinguished character, how many general officers, have died without transmitting their names to posterity; in that respect less fortunate than Bucephalus, and even the Spanish hound Benecillo, that devoured the Indians of Saint Domingo, and was allowed the daily pay of three privates.

58. If Adam had been told, the day after the death

of Abel, that, in a few centuries, places would exist where seven or eight hundred thousand human beings would be found congregated in an area not exceeding four square leagues, could he have believed that so vast a multitude should be able to live together? Would he not have formed an exaggerated idea of the number of crimes that are committed? Such is the reflection which ought to console us on observing the vices concomitant with such surprising assemblages of men.

59. Most men who live in the world are so heedless, and reflect so little, that they know nothing about what is passing under their very eyes. Mr. B. used to say, facetiously enough, these people do not know the world, for the same reason that cock-chaffers are not acquainted with natural history.

60. When we think of Bacon, who, at the commencement of the sixteenth century, indicated to the human mind the plan to be pursued in order to reconstruct the edifice of the sciences, we can hardly feel admiration for those great men who have succeeded him; such as Boyle, Locke, &c. He lays out the ground for them, or marks the spots that are to be cultivated or taken possession of, like Cæsar, who, being master of the world, after the battle of Pharsalia, gave away kingdoms and provinces to his partisans or to his favourites.

61. Rousseau, imitating Plutarch, says, that the more we think, the less we feel—he is in error: it is true that the more we employ our judgment, the less we love.

Few men will allow you an opportunity to make an exception to this rule.

62. Robinson Crusoe in his island, deprived of every thing, and compelled to undergo the greatest hardship to ensure a daily subsistence, bears up with life, and even enjoys, by his own account, some moments of happiness. Suppose him to be in an enchanted island, provided with every thing he can wish for; idleness would most probably render his existence insupportably tedious.

63. The Dutch entertain no pity for those who are in debt; they think that every person who contracts debts lives at the expense of his fellow citizens, if he be poor; and of his heirs, if he be rich.

64. Change of fashion is the tax which the industry of the poor lays upon the vanity of the rich.

65. People give dinners to others which cost ten or twenty *louis;* and they would not bestow half a crown upon the same persons to assist them in promoting digestion.

66. Young women, in common with monarchs, have no friends; but, luckily, they are not more sensible of this unhappiness than kings themselves: the grandeur of the latter, and the vanity of the former, destroy this feeling.

67. A witty young lady once confided to me a secret which may possibly be that of her whole sex; namely, that every woman who takes a lover pays more attention to the manner in which he is looked upon by other women, than how she looks upon him herself.

68. It is an attested fact, that, when M. de Guibert

was appointed Governor of the Invalids, he found, in the hospital, six hundred persons, none of whom had been wounded, and very few of whom had ever been present at a battle; but who had, however, been footmen or coachmen to great lords, or well-known placemen.

69. R. says that he has been acquainted with women from every country in Europe: the Italian thinks she is beloved, only when her lover is capable of committing a crime for her; the English woman, when he is ready to perform a rash act; the French woman a silly one.

70. D'Alembert, who already enjoyed a high reputation for learning, had been invited to spend the evening at Madame du Defant's: The President Henault and M. Pont de Veyle were also there. A physician, named Fournier, was announced, who, on his entrance, addressed Madame du Defant with—"Madame, I have the honour to present you my most humble respect." The President Henault—"Sir, I have the honour of saluting you." M. Pont de Veyle, "Sir, I am your most humble servant;" and M. D'Alembert, "Good evening, Sir."

71. L—, who was in deep mourning, and apparently very sorrowful, was accosted by Count S., who said to him: "Good G—! have you lost any body?" "I have lost no body," replied L., "I am only a widower."

72. When virtue is united to talent, it places a man above his glory: there is a touching and delightful association attached to the name of Fenelon, more venerable than the brilliancy of his talents.

73. Proverbs are the fruit of the experience of every nation, the good sense of every age reduced to recipes.

74. To the rich and unlettered man, leisure is without repose, repose without delight, and time, that treasure of the man whose mind is occupied, for the former, is a tax upon his idleness. The learned man seeks for himself, the rich one endeavours to escape from himself.

75. Grammar being the art of levelling the difficulties of a language, the lever ought not to be heavier than the weight.

76. It is proper not to overclothe a thought; we should, as it were, travel into languages, and, after having seen a few, turn to our own with increased delight.

77. The Italian language possesses ceremonial forms that are destructive of conversation, and do not give us a very high opinion of mankind. You are always placed in the disagreeable alternative either of tiring or insulting a man.

78. Little minds triumph over the errors of men of genius, as the owl rejoices at an eclipse of the sun.

79. When Dante is fine, no one can be compared to him: a verse stands forth by the simple power of a verb and a substantive, without the assistance of a single epithet.

80. If D. have met with some success, it is because he always wrote upon matters teeming with the interest of the moment.

81. Gold is the sovereign of sovereigns.

82. Man passes his life in reasoning on the past, in complaining of the present, and in trembling for the future.

FRAGMENTS AND THOUGHTS,

RELATING CHIEFLY TO POLITICAL ECONOMY, &c.

ENGLAND had scarcely signed the painful treaty which deprived her for ever of her American colonies, than her merchants and political writers sought the means of restoring to her by commerce what she had just lost by that memorable insurrection.

Lord Sheffield predicted, in a work abounding in important details, that England would always be the storehouse of the United States; that the Americans, constantly attracted by the excellence of its manufactures, the long experienced integrity of its merchants, and the length of credit which they in Europe only can give, would soon forget the wounds which the ministerial despotism of London, as well as the ferocity of the English and German satellites, had given to America, to form with it new and durable connections. At that time, the English nation resembled a man, who, coming out of a long delirium, in which he had broken every thing that was most precious to him, destroyed what he held the most dear, eagerly strives to repair the ravages of his cruel insanity.

Our ignorance! This word will undoubtedly shock, for we have the pride of an ancient people: we think we know every thing—have exhausted every thing. Yes, we have exhausted every thing; but in what? In futile sciences, in frivolous arts, in modes, in luxury, in the art of pleasing women, and the relaxation of morals. We go through elegant courses of chemistry; we make charming experiments, delicious verses; strangers at home, little informed of any thing abroad: this is what we are—that is, we know every thing except that which is proper for us to know. This assertion will, perhaps, be thought severe or false by persons who fancy that we excel in physics, and the exact sciences. But, in granting this, is it the description of science to which a reflecting man ought to devote his time? Does not the study of his social and civil state concern him more nearly? Ought not this to interest him more than the number of stars, or the order of chemical affinities? It is, however, the science of which we think the least. We are passionately fond of poetry; we dispute seriously about music—that is, we have a great regard for playthings, and make playthings of our most important concerns.

An American was one day describing, in a French society, the manners, simple pleasures, and rustic life, of the Anglo-Americans. "You are then from St. Domingo?" said a man decorated with the order of St. Louis. The Americans of the continent are perpetually

confounded in France with those of the islands, and those of the north with those of the south. To avoid this confusion, it will become absolutely necessary to invent new distinctions. That of the Anglo-Americans would not at present be just, as the Colonies no longer belong to England; it would suit only the inhabitants of Canada, Nova Scotia, &c. Might not, then, four people be thus distinguished:—The Free or Independent American—The North American—The South American—The Insular American?

It is to the freedom of debate and public discussion, that England is indebted for the singular prosperity which, until lately, has every where attended her in commerce, in arts, in manufactures, as well abroad as at home;—a prosperity which she will again enjoy, in despite of the faults of her ministers; for none but they have ever endangered it: and it is the freedom of debate which has constantly preserved it from ruin. Who doubts that this liberty would produce the same happy effects in France? That it would not destroy false appearances—that it would not prevent the destructive workings of private interest—that it would not alarm mischievous indulgence, or the coalition of persons in place with the enemies of the public welfare? Government seems to have begun to render homage to this influence of the freedom of discussion. At length it appears to relax from its severity in the law relating to the press; it has suffered some shackles which restrained discussion to be

broken, especially in political matters. But how far are we still from enjoying the happy effects of the liberty of the press, rather granted to public opinion, than encouraged by a real love of truth!

The world owes much to M. Claviere, a Genevese, exiled without any form from his country by the military aristocracy; which has substituted its illegal and destructive regimen, for the reasonable and legitimate influence of a people, distinguished by their natural good understanding, their knowledge, and simplicity of manners. What was his crime? That of having defended the rights of these people with a firmness and ability which the implacable hatred of his enemies attest! During his abode in France, he gave proofs of his knowledge in the philosophical and political part of commerce. It is to his residence amongst us that the public is indebted for some useful works on these abstruse matters; works as remarkable for the solidity of principle, and truth of discussion, as for clearness and precision of ideas; works whose success proves that minds may be led to the contemplation of these concerns by substituting an exact and clear analysis for the metaphysical and obscure jargon which restrained them from it.

To obtain preference in foreign commerce, neither treaties, regulations, nor force must be relied upon. Force has only a momentary effect. It destroys that even

which it means to protect. Treaties and regulations are useless, if the interests of two nations do not impel them to a mutual intercourse. They are ineffectual, if that attraction exist not. Treaties, regulations, force, all yield to the impulse, or nature of circumstance. This *force of circumstance* is a political law which governs all, in politics as well as in physics. There is a general force whose action is manifest, which, in despite of wars, treaties, and the manœuvres of cabinets, governs all events, and carries away men and nations in its course. It was this force of circumstance which overturned the Roman Empire, when it rested on a basis disproportioned to its bulk; —which, in the 14th century, took from the English one half of France, and, in the 18th, has taken from them half of the new world;—which delivered Holland from the yoke of Spain, and Sweden from that of Denmark. It was this force which destroyed the projects of such conquerors as Charlemagne, Gengis, and Nadir. They ran from place to place, they destroyed mankind to build empires. These empires died with them. This force acts upon commerce, as upon revolutions. It was that which, by the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope, bereaved the Venetians of their trade to the Indies, and made it pass over successively to the Portuguese, the Dutch, the English, and the French.

When a nation pays, with money, for the whole or the greater part of its importations, it is said the balance of trade is against it—by which a disadvantageous idea

of its position is meant to be given. This is a prejudice easily to be overturned, although entertained by men celebrated for their knowledge.

In effect, whence comes to this country the gold it pays? It is either from its mines, in which case it pays with one of its own productions; or it owes it to artificers, who exercise their functions in a foreign country; and even then, it pays with a production which originates within its dominions. So long as a nation pays another, directly or indirectly, with its own productions, its position cannot be disadvantageous. Therefore, the unfavourable word *balance*, thus attached to the balance of an account paid in money, offers no exact or definite idea of the favourable or unfavourable state of a nation. Gold is also merchandize; and it may be convenient to one nation, according to its relations or connections with another, to pay with money, without its having, for that reason, an unfavourable balance against it.

There is but one case wherein the balance against a nation can be declared: it is that, when, having exhausted its money and treasures, it remains debtor to another nation. But things could not remain long in this state; a soil so wretched, unequal to the consumption and exchange of its inhabitants, would soon be abandoned. This, however, cannot happen. Importation presently becomes in proportion to exportation; an equilibrium is established; and the pretended unfavourable balance has not duration enough to give a right of supposing even its existence.

There is as little truth as justice in saying a nation has the balance of trade in its favour, when it receives in money balances due to it upon the amount of its exportations. This balance, existing for a certain time, would heap up specie in the country, and at length reduce it to a state of misery. This has never yet happened; but it would have occurred, if this system had had the least foundation.

The concentration of money depends on too many causes, to deduce from its abundance a certain sign of a favourable commercial balance. A thousand combinations and events, which have no relation to that balance, draw money from abroad, or send it thither; and, in the general, continued, and various motions of commerce, the tables of exportation and importation, according to which, the sign of a favourable or unfavourable balance is regulated, are too uncertain and defective for the purpose, as well as for forming a judgment of the quantities of coin, or of the riches of a nation.*

* I will give a striking example of the deficiency of these calculations of the estimation of a balance of trade, and of the quantity of money. This example will prove that political calculators neglect, or are ignorant of, foreign events which overturn their calculations.

M. Necker wished to inform himself (Chap. ix. vol. 3, *Treaty of Administration of Finance*,) what was the sum brought to and preserved in Europe, from 1763 to 1777. He estimates it at one thousand eight hundred and fifty millions of *livres*, according to the register of Lisbon and Cadiz, comprehending that even which entered by contraband; and he values at three hundred millions of *livres* that which went out of Europe during the same interval.

Let the tables for comparing the exportation and importation of raw materials, and of manufactured articles, be extended in what degree they may—let the utmost

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To prove the insufficiency of this calculation, founded upon the registers of custom-houses, it will be necessary only to cite two or three authenticated facts.

In stating the sum of money brought into Europe, it does not appear that M. Necker takes account of the gold and silver which the conquest and possession of Bengal by the English, and their establishments in the East Indies, have caused to pass into this quarter of the world. But, according to the calculation of the Secret Committee, appointed by the Parliament of England to examine the state of English possessions in India, the sums drawn from Bengal, from 1757 to 1771, amount to 751,000,000 *livres*. To what will it amount, if these be added to those drawn from the Carnatic, and from Oude, of which the Nabobs have the shadow only of the possession—from the revenue of the Northern Circars—from the theft committed on the Emperor of Mogul, from 1771 to the present day, of his twenty-six millions—from the perpetual increase of territories and revenues from the sale made, in 1773, of the Rohillas, to the Nabob of Oude, which produced to the English upwards of fifty millions.*

Finally, what will be the amount, if there be added to it the enormous sums exported from the Indies by individuals, who have there enriched themselves? The fortune of Lord Clive was beyond calculation; that of Mr. Hastings is estimated at thirty or forty millions of *livres*. It is true, that a part of these immense riches have been employed to defray the expences incurred by the English in guarding their possessions in India—that a more considerable one has been sent into Europe under the form of merchandize; but it cannot be denied, that a third part has been brought in gold and

* See *Mackintosh's Voyage to the East Indies*, vol. i. p. 340.

care and fidelity be employed to render them perfect—the result will never be more certain or decisive; for so long as prohibitory laws, which are always accompanied

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silver to our continent. What is the amount of it? This is impossible to state. But, whatever it may be, it renders the calculation of M. Necker doubtful. Let the inexhaustible riches of the Indies be judged of by one fact, and consequently the immense source from which the Europeans have drawn them, and, by another consequence, the money which must have come into Europe. Nadir Shah, who conquered Delhi in 1740, took from India about forty millions sterling. This money was circulated in Persia, and that unhappy state, torn by despotism and continual wars, produces little, manufactures nothing, and is consequently debtor to exterior commerce, which comes almost entirely into Europe. It follows that two thirds of the sums stolen from India by the freebooter Nadir, have passed over to the same quarter. These events, unnoticed by political calculators, have certainly had great and universal influence over the fluctuation and circulation of money. That which makes it supposed that no metals come from India, is the opinion that their importation is disadvantageous. But have the freebooters, who have pillaged that country for the last thirty years, calculated this disadvantage? They try to secure their thefts, and do not speculate like merchants: bulky merchandise would betray them.

With respect to the stated sums of money which pass from Europe to India, there is the same defect in the calculations of M. Necker. He takes no notice of the events which obliged the English to remit considerable sums to India: for instance, the wars against the Mahrattas were prodigiously expensive; that against Hyder Ally, in 1769, was not less so. A single conflagration in Calcutta cost nearly twenty-four millions of *livres*, which it was necessary to replace; yet these sums are far from balancing those which are exported from India.

by illicit commerce, shall exist, it will be impossible to know and state exactly what comes in and goes out and, if there be a country where no such law exists, are exact registers of the exports and imports to be found in it? or, if they were, would it not be a constraint which the private interests of merchants would frequently oblige them to avoid?

Moreover, does it appear, that in their general balances, which are supposed to be paid in money, notice is taken of the operation of bankers, foreign governments, and those who go abroad, in exporting the public specie?* Knowledge, derived from such inferences, is deceitful.

But how appreciate—how estimate—the increase of the riches and commerce of a nation? By its population. If this sensibly augment—if ease and the conveniences of life become more general—if the causes of indigence in an increasing people be seen to diminish, or are confined to inability to work, occasioned by accidental illnesses, it is evident, that the revenues of that nation exceed its expenses, and that the balance of trade is in its favour; for, if the value of its exports were inferior to that of its imports, a considerable debt and impover-

* It is very probable there are many particular causes which insensibly diminish the quantity of coin in those nations which have the balance of trade constantly in their favour. Were no such causes to exist, the consequence would be, that such nations would be obliged to bury their gold and silver in the earth, to prevent its falling into disuse; yet neither of these cases happens. Therefore, money necessarily passes from such countries to others.

ishment would immediately fall upon its population. It is, therefore, only by rational and well-composed tables upon the subject, that a minister of sound judgment, profound and extended in his plans, will be prevailed upon to conduct himself. It is by them he will judge of the increase and advantages of commerce, as well as of national riches.

He will be very cautious of embellishing with this title the amassing of gold and silver, and equally so of regarding it as the token of riches, or of judging of their extent by the quantity of these metals. All such ideas are sordid, dangerous, and false; sordid, because they affix to this sign the representation of productions, and consequently the extension of commerce; dangerous, because they accustom men to look upon gold as real riches, to neglect the substance for its shadow, and make them strangers to their country; false, because that display of figures announces only the quantity of money, which continually disappears, and which, carried to a certain degree, is of no farther consideration.*

* Could gold and silver be preserved from adulteration, and the attempts of tyranny and ignorance, they would have a much better title to be considered as real riches. Gold being a universal agent, he who possesses it may emigrate to wherever he pleases, and take his gold with him. This metal is, therefore, every thing with nations unhappy enough to make arbitrary exceptions to general maxims, upon which public credit is founded. But how dearly do they pay for their ignorance of the advantages of public credit! How dearly do governments themselves pay for their errors and outrages?

Enquiries on the quantity of coin are like those on the balance of trade. To establish both one and the other, with some degree of certainty, it is necessary to assemble notions and details of which the elementary principles vanish, or incessantly vary.*

All their measures are forced—nature is liberal in vain; incessantly employed in repairing evils which continually present themselves, she has not time sufficient allowed her to add to our happiness. When it was said that money had no particular country,* governments were emphatically told, that it was necessary to do without great quantities of it: it will never be rejected till the inestimable advantages resulting from the respect for public credit shall be properly known. The less individuals love and heap up money, the richer, more enlightened, and better governed will a nation be. To be attached to money, to hoard it up, is a sign of an alarming crisis, as a want of judgment and faith in the administration; whence comes the proof of what has been said in the text, that "a writer who extols gold as a sign of riches, and recommends it to his fellow citizens, is deceived, or has an erroneous idea of their situation." In the latter case, he would do much better if, instead of preaching this pernicious doctrine, he should encourage government to give an immoveable stability to national credit.

* In general, the mass of gold or silver is divided into three principal portions:—The first, under the form of money, serves for daily and unavoidable expenses. Each individual, as soon as he is charged with the support of himself and family, must have at least some pieces of money for daily exigences, the payment of taxes, &c. To this must be added that sum which is reserved for casualties. This custom is more or less observed in all countries, in proportion to the probability of disastrous events. It is impossible to calculate this first part. It is, however, evident, that it ought to be in proportion to

* *L'argent n'a point d'opinion*, has been said recently.

The proceedings in the administration of finances are more useful and certain by laying aside the pomp of false riches, and by considering gold and silver in a point of view relative to their particular properties. They supply our wants as means of exchange only; they are

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the population, and to increase with it; and that a decrease of population would soon take place were many individuals totally deprived of a pecuniary contingency, sufficient to procure them such necessaries as cannot be dispensed with, and which they neither make nor receive themselves. It appears also that this portion of the coin remains in the country, by reason of its continued application in small sums to daily wants, and of the absolute stagnation of that which is laid up in reserve.

The second portion is destined, under the same form, to the great operations of commerce. It is equally impossible to fix its quantity, on account of an infinity of combinations which continually change, and cause these metals to pass from one country to another.

Daily changes, customs, &c., retain a portion; but these objects belong equally to our first division.

The third portion contains uncoined gold and silver, under whatever form they may have: it is, like the second, subject to numerous continual variations, which leave no satisfactory means of determining its quantity.

To pretend to ascertain the quantity in the mass, by payments of uncertain commercial balances, and by the addition of specie, produced from mints, since a new coinage has taken place, is not a more certain means; because it would be equally necessary to observe the continual action of commerce upon these metals, under all their forms, and of the combinations it produces, which successively arise from one another. In thus estimating money, it is forgotten that it is a universal agent, which, by that character alone, must necessarily change its situation perpetually; since commerce has produced

notes to the bearer, which, having every where the same value, are every where negociable. Thus they are ambulatory; they pass, repass, are accumulated or dispersed, like the waves of the sea, continually agitated by successive winds blowing from every point of the compass. To undertake to make them stationary, would be striving to change their nature, to deprive them of that property from which they derive their value. This, ridiculous as it may seem, is, notwithstanding, a consequence of the system which causes them to be looked upon as real treasures. Their disappearance is dreaded, and yet their circulation is clogged, and the mind loses sight of the use of the most simple and universal means of creating real riches, without which metals would be useless, and consequently of no value.

On the contrary, disdaining vulgar opinions, and seeing nothing in gold and silver but the means of exchange—but proper agents to facilitate it—the mind, freed from the fear of the want of them *as riches*, conceives the idea of doing without them *as agents*, at least about man's person. What a vast field is thus opened

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an affinity among men, by wants which they have created to themselves, of their reciprocal productions. It is equally unobserved, that different circumstances reduce gold to the state of an ingot, that, consequently, the same piece may pass several times under the die in the course of a certain number of years. This is a reflection which M. Necker seems not to have made, when he stated the money existing in France at so considerable a sum.

to industry! These metals are, in that case, reserved for the best uses to which nations who obtain them from abroad can put them to. They are sent out to seek materials for industry, new commodities, and, especially, to increase the number of citizens: of every species of riches this is the most sure and fruitful. Thus, when gold is reduced to its exact value—when its real use is known—the advantageous purposes to which it is proper are more justly calculated. It is then perceived, that paper credit may have the same properties as gold itself; and, to succeed in giving them to it, nothing more is necessary than to preserve the most inviolable respect for the principles which support public confidence; for upon what basis rests the value and general use of money, if it be not upon the certitude that it will be received everywhere in payment for things which men's wants may require, because of its conventional value? Why should a paper, which presents the same conventional value—the same certitude and solidity—be refused in payment? I will add more: a more solid basis than gold and silver has may be given to paper-money;* for we have no guarantee that the value

* I say paper money, without attaching to this expression the idea of constraint to receive it as such; this obligation diminishes its value. I would say paper credit, if the word credit did not seem to exclude its principal quality, that of being always susceptible, and in an instant, of being converted into money without the least loss.

of these metals will not be all at once diminished by the discovery of new and rich mines: we cannot calculate their quantities concealed in the earth—and men incessantly explore its bowels in search of them.* Therefore, in countries where precious metals are scarce, but where lands may be successfully cultivated, banks ought to be established, whose operations should chiefly rest upon title-deeds and productions deposited; in a word, upon such objects only as gold and silver should represent.

In countries where these metals are already in circulation, but are still foreign productions, long and certain means should be sought after to render exchanges less dependent on the security or abundance of specie. Paper-credit should be naturalized there; because its infallible effect is to double or triple the quantity of current coin, and even to replace it entirely, where, as in England, public confidence has never received a wound.

I think I have proved:—

1st. That the balance of trade is but an insignificant word; that the balance paid in specie is no proof of a disadvantageous commerce, on the part of the nation which pays it; nor advantageous to the nation which receives it.

2nd. That the tables of that commercial balance are

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* Why should not discoveries be made in other countries, like that in the last century, by two shepherds in Norway, of the rich mine of Konsberg, where very considerable masses of silver are found. The King of Denmark has one of 560 pounds weight in his cabinet

entitled to no credit, and that the only method of estimating the increase of trade, is by the increase of population.*

3rd. That it is impossible to judge exactly of the quantity of money existing in a country, and that all calculations on that head are founded upon an uncertain and defective basis, because it is impossible to collect all their elementary principles.

4th. That metals are not real riches.

5th. That, considered as agents of exchange, it would be more advantageous to substitute paper credit in interior commerce, and to apply them to uses for which paper is unfit, namely all the purposes of exterior com-

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* The errors in these pretended balances must be continually insisted upon: consequences dangerous to the people are frequently drawn from them; financiers, who pillage the kingdom, say to princes, on presenting them these fallacious calculations—"That things are in a prosperous way, that commerce flourishes, that taxes may be laid on, loans negociated, &c." These sophisms are seducing. Let princes accustom themselves to judge of public prosperity, by population and the general ease of the people; let them be eye witnesses of this, and mistrust the momentary appearance of prosperity, which frequently covers profound misery, and they will not be so often deceived.

A king of Sardinia paid a visit to a part of Savoy, the nobility of which had been represented to him as being very poor and miserable: they came to him elegantly dressed, in clothes of ceremony, to pay him their court. At this the king expressed his surprise to one of the gentlemen; who said to him—"*Sire, nous faisons pour votre Majesté tout ce que nous devons, mais nous devons tout ce que nous faisons.*"

merce. It results, from these demonstrations, that commerce may be commenced between two nations without the aid of money; that the quantity a nation has of it to exchange for foreign productions is in proportion to its confidential interior establishments which advantageously supply its place.

In three words, a good soil, paper credit, and a government anxious to support it, are the true means of opening the resources of a nation, of procuring an abundance of specie, as well as extensive foreign commerce.

Manufactures of luxury, of convenience, and of necessity, must be distinguished, in a manner hereafter pointed out. Lord Sheffield, and all foreigners, agree that France has the advantage in the first class of manufactures. His lordship admits even that France makes finer cloths than those of England; but with respect to manufactures of convenience, or such as are intended for the consumption of the people, we must, in despite of national preference, admit, on our part, that we are in many articles inferior to the English. This will appear in the sequel. It would be ridiculous, and even dangerous, to flatter the nation in this particular; the illusion would keep us in a state of mediocrity. It is for a better constituted love of country to prove to the nation, that it may rise above mediocrity, and to show by what means this is to be effected. Should any one desire to know the cause of this double difference

between the French and English manufactures, it is as follows :—

There is in England a greater number of men amongst the people in easy circumstances than in France, and who are consequently in a situation to choose, and pay better for, such articles as they like. It is a known fact that the common people of England, although burthened with taxes, are well clothed and fed.* The rags of misery are not found with the *poule au pot.*† The English manufacturer, having a greater demand for articles of necessity, and being better paid for them, can make improvements in his manufacture.

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* The goodness of things manufactured is so generally requisite in England, that merchandize, destined for exportation, is there distinguished from that for home consumption. There are large warehouses, in which the sales are for exportation only. The object of others is home consumption. People who judge hastily conclude from hence that those for exportation are badly manufactured. They are deceived; the difference is in the choice of materials. *The Englishman spares nothing for that which he consumes.* The workmanship is the same; it would cost in general more to manufacturers to have two sorts of workmanship, a good and a bad one, than to have only one which is good; and a manufacture established upon a bad description of workmanship would soon be decried. A shoe, destined for foreign commerce, is as well made as another; but it does not last so long, because the leather is not chosen from the best kind; and so of the rest.

† A memorable expression of Henry the Fourth of France, who, in a conversation with his favourite, Sully, said, he hoped to see the time when the poorest of his subjects would have it in their power to put a fowl into the pot for their Sunday's dinner.

APPENDIX C.

SORBIERE'S JOURNEY TO LONDON,

IN THE YEAR 1698.

THIS tract was written chiefly to satisfy my own curiosity, and being in a place where I had little to do, I thought fit to write a book for such people as had idle time enough upon their hands to read it. The English nation value themselves upon a plain honesty, join'd with hospitality; these make them courteous to strangers, but they are not very easy with their curiosity; for they do not build and dress most for figure, as the French, who are certainly the most polite nation in the world, and can praise and court with a better grace than the rest of mankind. I did not intend to put on the spectacles of the present state of England written by Dr. Chamberlain, nor any survey of the same, for, trusting to my eyes, I had a mind to see without 'em. But to content the reader, I promise not to trouble you with ceremonies, either of State, or Church, or Politics: for though I met with an English gentleman who proffer'd to shew me the princes of the blood, the prime ministers of state, the lord mayor, and other officers belonging to the city of so immense a greatness as that of London, yet I refus'd the civility,

and told him that I took more pleasure to see honest John Sharp of Hackney in his white frock crying Turnips ho! four bunches a penny, than Sir Charles Cottrell, making room for an ambassador; and I found myself better dispos'd and more apt to learn the phisiognomy of a hundred weeds, than of five or six princes. I arrived at London, after a tedious journey, in bad weather; for I fell sick upon the road, and lay dangerously ill of the tooth-ache. I believe I did not see the tithe of what deserves to be seen; because for many things I wanted a relish, particularly for painting and building, though I confess the grandeur of a city chiefly consists in buildings, and I verily believe London to be one of the most beautiful and magnificent in Europe. It is also most certain that the common people of London live dispers'd in single houses, whereas in Paris there are from four to five and to ten menages or distinct families in many houses; from whence I infer, that as to the commonalty, Paris may be more populous than London, although perhaps their dwelling mayn't be so wholesome and cleanly. I found the houses some of hewn stone, as the Crown Tavern upon Ludgate-hill, and the corner house of Birchin-lane, and several others. Divers of the citizens' houses have port-cochers to drive in a coach or a cart either, and consequently have courts within and mostly remises to set them up; such persons as have no port-cochers, and consequently no courts or remises, set up their coaches at other places, and let their horses stand at livery. The cellar windows of most houses are grated with strong bars of iron to keep thieves

out, and Newgate is grated up to the top to keep them in, *which must be of vast expense!* As the houses are magnificent without, so they furnish them within accordingly. But I could not find that they had any *bureaus of ivory*. Upon viewing the braziers' and turners' shops, I found it true what my countryman, Monsieur Justel, formerly told me, that according to his catalogue, there were near threescore utensils and conveniences of life more in ENGLAND than in FRANCE. But then the English, since their breach of commerce with *France*, lie under great necessities of several commodities fitting for the ease and support of human life, as *counterfeit pearl necklaces*, fans, tooth-picks, and tooth-pick cases, and especially prunes, the calamity of which has been so great for ten years last past, that they they have not had enough to lay round their plum-porridge at Christmas. I must, to give a faithful account, descend even to the kennels; the *gutters* are deep, and lain with rough edges, which make the coaches not to glide easily over 'em, but occasion an imployment for an industrious sort of people called *kennel-rakers*.

The squares in London are many and very beautiful, as St. James's, Sohoe, Bloomsbury, Red Lyon, Devonshire, none of the largest, and Hogsdon not yet finished. But that which makes the dwelling in this city very diverting is the facility of going out into the fields, as to Knight's Bridge, where is an excellent spring garden, to *Marribone*, where is a very good bowling green, Islington as famous for cakes, as Stepney is for bunns.

But to descend to a more particular review of this great city, I think it not amiss to speak first of the streets. There are *coaches* in the streets, which are very numerous, but the Fiacers are not hung with double springs at the four corners, which springs would insensibly break all jolts. So that I found the case alter'd in *England;* and that I had rather ride in a Fiacer at Paris than in the easiest chariot of a lord ambassador. I, to my great astonishment, at London, found that in a hackney coach there was *not* a jolt but what affected a man, from whence I draw these surprising conclusions: First, that a hackney *is a miserable voiture,* and next, *that a man may be more tired in an hour in that, than in six hours' riding in my lord ambassador's easiest chariot.* I saw a boy that had harnessed two dogs which drew a small *voiture* with a burden in it, and I saw a little master in a little vinegrette, drawn by *two boys,* much bigger than himself, and push'd behind by a maid. These I was willing to omit as thinking them at first sight scandalous, and a very jest, they being wretched businesses in so magnificent a city. Finding that neither post-chaises nor rouillons were in use in London I told them of 'em, how both horses pull, but one only is in the thilles, how the coachman mounts the rouillon, but for the chaise he only mounts the side horse, and that they might be introduced to good purpose. But I found the English *curiosity* so small that I did not see any rouillon made druing my six months' stay in London. As for their recreations and walks, St. James's Park is frequented by people of quality, who, if they have a mind

to *have a better and freer air*, drive to Hide Park, where is a ring for the coaches to drive round, and hard by is Mrs. Price's, where are incomparable sillabubs; out of the *other parts of the town*, they go to Hampstead and Cane Wood, (an admirable place for nuts, as Mother Huff's for bottle ale,) *scarce any side amiss*. I had almost forgot that in St. James's Park are many seats for the entertainment of all people, the lacqueys and mob excepted, but of this more hereafter. 'Tis pretty to observe how the magistrates indulge the inhabitants of this great city, by this small instance; for whereas in Paris the king has caused the citizens to take down their signs, and not to exceed a small measure of square, in London, they may be of what measure they please, even to a monstrous bigness, as my great curiosity observed in the sign of the Ship Tavern, and the Castle Tavern, in Fleet-street, which has almost obscured the Sun; and barbers hang out poles of a great huge length almost as long as a missen-mast. There are a great many publick inns in London, where lodgings are to be let, as the Bull Inn in Bishopsgate-street; the Saracen's Head, in Friday-street; the White Horse, in Fleet-street, and others. But besides these there are divers other places, so call'd; as Clifford's Inn, Clement's Inn, Lyon's Inn, &c., where several gentlemen, practitioners of the law, reside. This seems, as it were to denote, that heretofore attorneys might lodge in *public inns*, as well as other *strangers*. In the river Thames, both above bridge and below, are vast numbers of boats of wood, hay, charcoal, corn, wine, and

other commodities. When a frost comes, there are not so many. But when a thaw comes, they are often in danger of being split and crush'd to pieces. And upon my word, there have been great losses to the owners of such boats and goods, upon such occasions. The reason why there are more boats below bridge than above, is because there is a custom house, which brings in to the King of England, a revenue able to defend the sovereignty of the seas against any enemy whatsoever; and the reason why there lie so many hundred large vessels of all sorts, and of all nations, is because they cannot get through bridge, heigh! and there are a great many light boats loaden with brooms, ginger-bread, tobacco, and a dram of the bottle, ho! Above bridge is a vast boat with a house upon it, and a garden in the garret; and further up the river, at Chelsey, is a land ship, very large, built on purpose never to go to sea. There are beggars in London, and people whose necessities force them to ask relief from such as they think able to afford it. But there are no *monks* who declare against marriage. And a certain learned person told me, that he did not like *starved monks*, but that he was for *free marriage*, and that the flesh-eaters will ever defend themselves, if not beat the lenten men. Therefore, he was *entirely* for propagation, that men might be like the stars in the firmament, or the shells and sand upon the sea-shore; and so notwithstanding any circumstances of life, age, or fortune, should marry, and that it was as prudent in an old man of three-score-and-ten, as in a youth of one-and-twenty. There is a great

deal of *noise in this city*, of publick cries of things to be sold, and *great disturbances from pamphlets and hawkers*. The Gazettes come out twice a week, and a great many buy them. When a thing is lost, they do not as in Paris put a *printed paper on the wall*, but if it be of small value, the bell-man cries it; and if it be a thing of greater moment, as, for example, a lap-dog, then they put it in an advertisement. The streets are lighted all the winter; but there is an impertinent usage of the people at London *not to light 'em when the moon shines*. They ridiculously defend themselves by saying they can see by moonshine, and have no more reason to hold a candle to the moon than to the sun. There were three young gentlemen of good families in a frolick went a scouring, broke the lights, and were sent to the Counter, and could not be releas'd thence without diligent application of friends, and paying garnish to their fellow-prisoners. The avenues to the city and all the streets are paved with pebbles, flints, and rag stones, and there is great care to keep them clean. In winter, for example, upon melting of the ice, you shall see all the 'prentices and porters up in arms with brooms and paring-shovels; so that, in a few hours' time, all parts of the town are to admiration clean and neat again to walk on. I could heartily wish I had been in London in summer, to have seen whether they have more dust at *London* than in *Paris*. I have, notwithstanding, in my curious enquiries after dust, found that there are

several dust-carts about the town, and there are several women who take delight, and, as I have heard, pay money, to ride in 'em. A fine lady about the town was taken thence, and, upon her change of clean linning, took upon herself the title of Clinderaxa. There are several statues, both at Charing-cross, in the city, and at the Exchange; but my relish being not for *art*, but *nature*, as I have before declared, I think fit to meddle with 'em as little as I can. I happened to go with a lady to Hyde-park-corner, where, in an open area, we saw several naked statues, at which she, out of a fond humour or hot fit of devotion, took some offence. I told her Cicero somewhere says, that some of the ancient wise men thought there was nothing naturally obscene; but that everything might be called by its own name. She told *me*, I was making an apology for talking obscenly. I replied, no; but added, why should nudity be so offensive, since a very great part of the world yet defies cloathes, and ever did so, and the parts they do most affect to cover, are from a certain necessity only? At which she blushed; and I, for the sake of further discourse, began a long story about Roman cloths; and I told her, a Roman was as soon undress'd as I can put off my gloves and shoes; for he had nothing to do but to loose the girdle of the tunica, and to draw up both his arms from under the tunica, and he was in bed immediately; whereas, I had a hundred fatigues to undergo, as unbuttoning my collar, untying my knee-strings, and several other things that would make a

man impatient to think of. I told her, likewise, it was after the first ages of the commonwealth that they found out the invention of putting a shirt next the skin; that, as for ruffles and steenkirks, they were never added in the very splendour and luxury of the empire. I continued my discourse, that I much admire. I could never meet with a statue in London, but what was cloathed with a *pura Toga*, and no representation of a bullated one. I told her that the Romans, indeed, wore flannel shirts, but, in my mind, a fair linen shirt every day is as great a preservation to neatness and cleanness of the skin, as going to the bagnio was to the Romans. The lady smiled, and told me, Sir, I am glad you have clothed the poor creatures that we found naked. This seeming to be spoke in a ridiculous way, something provoked, but spying a little statue of Mother Shipton, whose face was deep within the quoifure, says I, Madam, this woman looks as if she were ashamed of her cheat. It was the fancy of King Henry the Eight's time to make old women prophetesses; but I think to make them sagæ and veneficæ (that is, in plain English, sorceresses and poisoners), is reasonable enough; for age makes all people spiteful, but more the weaker sex. So we parted in a chagrin; for I believe the lady, modestly speaking, was upwards of fifty. I heard of several persons that had great collections of rarities pictures, and statues. But I was resolved to visit but a few, and those the most curious; and when I made any observations, that they should be to the purpose.

So I visited Mr. Doncaster. He entertained me very civilly: he has a very fine octagon room with a dome: he has very fine pictures, though I must confess, as before, I have no relish for painting. He showed me some pictures of Rubens, in which the allegoric assistants in the tableaux are very airy and fancifully set out. He showed me likewise one of Vandike; but being painted in dishabile, it had a foppish night-gown and old quoifure, which lead me into this reflection, that the modern painters have truly an opportunity to be idle. He has several other curiosities; among the best was a Roman glass, whose very bottom was smooth, and very little umbilicate. He showed me, likewise, a great rummer of two quarts, very proper for Rhenish wine, and lymon and sugar, in the midst of summer: I found that the foot of the latter was more *umbilicated* than the former. He then diverted me with a copy of the writing said to be the devil's writing, kept in Queen's College in *Oxford;* upon which I began the discourse of these matters. I told him that the *Chinese* were very much embarassed in their writings, as this writing seemed to be. But I was rather inclined to think this the Boustrophedon mentioned by Suidas, like the racers about the meta in the Cirque. But I could not find that he had any apprehension of the matter. I saw a millar's thumb, which he told me was taken by a millar with his thumb and fore-finger: it is very like a hippocumpus, as to the thick belly and heart of it. With this I was extremely pleased, and am infinitely obliged to

this *Mr. Doncaster*, for he showed me several sort of tadpoles and sticklebacks, which only for bigness are not much unlike a pope or ruff, and presented me with one of them, which I design to give a draught of. I was to visit Mr. Muddifond; I was sorry to hear that he had some thoughts concerning the heart of a hedgehog, which had made a very great breach betwixt Mr. Goodenough and himself. I could have wished, I might have reconciled the animosity. But it is to be hoped there may come good from an honest emulation. I had several discourses with Mr. Muddifond, about an old cat and a young kitling in an air-pump, and how the cat died after 16 pumps, but the kitling survived 500 pumps; upon which he fell into a learned discourse of the lives of cats; and at last agreed upon this distinction, that it ought not to be said that cats, but that kitlings have nine lives. And after that dispute ended, he very obligingly procured me a human heart. But I must confess the generosity of the English in this, for not many days after, Mr. Baddington procured me another, which was extremely grateful. I was commended by a friend to Mr. Brownsworth, a person that belongs to the Tower of London. He is a civil gentleman, but his genius lead him more to politicks than curiosity. He proffer'd to shew me the new armoury, in which are arms, as he told me, for above a hundred thousand men, all disposed in a manner most surprising and magnificent; as likewise another armoury, where are arms for twenty thousand men more. He would like-

wise have shewed me the horse armoury, a royal train of artillery, and several cannons taken out of the *Trident* prize. He would likewise have carryed me to see the crown imperial, and other jewels belonging to it. I humbly thanked him, and told him that my curiosity led me otherwise, and that my observations *inclined rather to nature than dominion;* upon which, smiling, he said, he hoped he should gratifie me, and immediately led me to a place where we saw lyons, tygers, and two very remarkable catamountains. I took more particular notice of two owls, of an immense greatness; but by their being without *horns*, I take 'em not to be a distinct species from the European. But that with which I was most delighted, was a calf-skin stuft; 'twas admirable to behold; a certain tumour or excrescence it had upon its forehead, in all points like the commodes or top-knots now in fashion. Upon this I exprest my thanks to Mr. Brownsworth in the most obliging terms I could. He then told me, the royal mint was not far off, upon which I said, I was a great admirer of coins, and desired him to give me an account of what coins there were in *England*. He began to tell me, that about three years ago the current coin of the kingdom consisted of old money coin'd by several kings, that those coins were clipt and debased to a very great degree, but that the King, with the advice of his parliament, in the very height of the war with France, had established a paper credit (or if you please to call it coin) of bills issued out of the Exchequer, and notes from the royal bank of

England, amounting to prodigious sums: that at present all our silver is in mil'd money, either of the two last kings or his present majesty, of which there is so great a quantity, that posterity will be apt to think that there was scarce any prince that ever coined before him. This money and credit having circulated so far, and are in so great a plenty, that in a late subscription to a new East India Company, two millions sterling were subscribed in less than two days' time, and as much more included. I believe the man would have run on till evening, if I had not interrupted him: Sir, said I, I beg you to consider that I am a *virtuoso*, and that your present discourse is quite out of my element. Sir, you would oblige me much more, if you could find me any coin from Palmira, more particularly of Zenobia, Odenatus or Valabatus, and that I preferr'd a *Vabalathus* VRIMPR, or a *Vabalathos* AUG, before twenty of the best pieces of gold coined in the Tower. The gentleman very civilly replyed, that he would endeavour to satisfie my curiosity; that he had at home two rusty copper pieces with which he intended to present me (which he accordingly did the next day); that he had been told by a person of the *Belles Lettres*, that they were dug out of the isle of Scilly, and that one was of Catathumpton, a *Saxon prince*, the other of Goclenia, his daughter and successor; they have both very odd characters (if any) about 'em—I design to give the reader a cut of them. The evening coming on, and my thanks being returned to him, we parted. I was to see Mr. *Shuttleworth*,

whose friendship I greatly value: he has many stories from Scotland: there is one, the most curious of all, concerning which he is ready to publish a dissertation. 'Tis a catalogue in three columns, of the names of the most principal persons who were killed at Chivy Chase. Widdrington closes the column, and after his name there is a noble Pindarick, in which he is recorded, upon the cutting off his legs, to have FOUGHT UPON HIS STUMPS. Of the antiquity of this storie, besides the known history and names which justifie the times of those men, the figure of the letters and the blackness of 'em, particularly of the word STUMPS, are undoubted arguments. He showed me a thousand other rarities—as the skin of a Cap ass, many very excellent land snails, a fresh water mussel from Chatham, a thin oyster, a very large wood frog, with the extremity of the toes webbed. He show'd me some papers of Swammerdam, in which were some small treatises, or rather some figures only, of the tadpole. Again, figures relating to the natural history of a certain day-butterfly, and of some considerable number of snails as well naked as fluviatile. He show'd me a vast number of great cases, in which were play-things, or puppets, all of them brought from France, except one Sistrum or Ægyptian rattle, with three loose or running wires cross it. I proffered him my assistance, to complete so useful a collection as that of play-things and rattles. I was infinitely pleased with this gentleman's company, especially when he shew'd me a dissertation he had written out fair for the press, about a certain

ancient intaglia of Medaces of Ptolomœus Auletes, or the player upon the flute: in this he said the thin muffler was the most remarkable. Upon this I told him that I had a dissertation concerning the remarkable thickness and thinness of mufflers, with which I would present him.

One toy I took notice of, which was a collection of tennis balls, for three hundred years or more; some of them were sent by a French king, to king Henry the Fifth; and there are patterns of all that the English have sent back, from the bigness of the smallest bor'd musquet, to the shells of the largest mortars. I went to see an old woman (that shall be nameless), she was 91 years of age. I was surprised to find her body in ruins. It was a perfect mortification to see the sad decays of nature; to hear her talk with her lips hanging about a toothless mouth, and her words flying abroad at random; this put me in mind of the Sybils uttering oracles, and how other old women call'd witches have been since employ'd on this errand, and have at very unreasonable times of the night been forced to bestride their broom staff in such like occasions. I would have seen a very famous library near St. James's Park, but I was told, that the learned library keeper was so busy in answering a book which had been lately wrote against, concerning Phalases, that it would be rudeness any ways to interrupt him; though I had heard of his singular humanity, both in France and other places. I was at an auction of books, at Tom's coffee house near Ludgate, where were about fifty people. Books were sold

with a great deal of trifling and delay as with us, but very cheap; those excellent authors Mounsieur Varillas, and Mounsieur Le Grand, tho' they were all guilt on the back, and would have made a very considerable figure in a gentleman's study, yet after much tediousness were sold for such trifling sums that I am asham'd to name 'em.

The —— here is the great business of the town. This secret service has introduced little contemptible animals of all sorts into business, and quacks here, as with us, do thrive vastly unto great riches. It was a very pleasant diversion to me to read upon the walls everywhere about the town, the quacks' bills in great uncial letters.

As

AQUA TETRACHYMAGOGON.

Another.

Read, Try, Judge, and Speak as you Find.

Another.

The unborn DOCTOR that cures all Diseases; he is to be spoke with at a Boiling Cooks, in Old Bedlam, from Ten till Two, and afterwards at his stage at Morefield.

Another.

At the Golden Ball and Lillies Head,
John Case lives, though Saffold's dead.

By these bills it is evident, there is yet a certain modesty and decorum left * * * *; and people though they may have failings in private, don't care to expose themselves to the publick. There are women,

that are seventh daughters, that do admirable cures, and there are people that can pick pockets, and afterwards, by consulting the stars, tell you who it was that did it. I met with a gentleman that told me a secret, that the old Romans in their luxury took their tea and chocolate after a full meal, and every man was his own cook in that case. Particularly Cæsar, that most admirable and most accomplished prince; being resolved to eat and drink to excess before he lay down to table, *emeticen agebat*, prepared for himself his chocolate and tea. He presented me with a Roman tea dish and a chocolate pot, which I take to be about Augustus's time, because it is very rusty; my maid very ignorantly was going to scour it, and had done me an immense damage. I saw several gardens at Kingsland; the gardener was an artist, and had some plants in cases in good order, not to be seen elsewhere, as Morum Syriacum, Rosemarry-bushes, &c. I was at Chelsey, where I took particular notice of these plants in the green-house at that time, as Urtica male olens Japoniæ, the stinking nettle of Japan; goosberiæ sterilis Armeniæ, the Armenian goosberry bush, that bears no fruit—this had been potted thirty years; Cordis quies Persica, which the English call heart'sease, or love and sadness, a very curious plant; brambelia fructificaus Laplandiæ, or the blooming bramble of Lapland; with a hundred other curious plants, as a particular collection of briars and thorns, which were some part of the curse of the creation. The winter was very rude and fierce. Multi-

tudes had little tin kettles in their houses, with small-coal kindled, to light their pipes withal; though in some places they use candles, in others salamanders. I was at Bartholomew-fair: it consists of most toy-shops, also fiacres and pictures, ribbon-shops, no books; many shops of confectioners, where any woman may be commodiously treated. Knavery is here in perfection, dextrous cut-purses and pickpockets. I went to see the dancing on the ropes, which was admirable: coming out, I met a man that would have took off my hat, but I secured it, and was going to draw my sword, crying out, "*Begar!* damned rogue! morbleu!" &c., when on a sudden I had a hundred people about me, crying out, "Here, Mounsieur, see Jeptha's rash vow; here, Mounsieur, see the tall Dutch woman; see the tyger," says another; "see the horse and no horse, whose tayl stands where his head ought to be; see the German artist, Mounsieur, see the siege of Namur, Mounsieur;" so that betwixt rudeness and civility, I was forced to get into a *fiacre*, and with an air of hast, and a full trot got home to my lodgings. I was at St. James's Park; there were no pavilions, nor decoration of treilliage and flowers; but I saw there a vast number of *ducks*: these were a most surprising sight; I could not forbear to say to Mr. Johnson, who was pleased to accompany me in this walk, that sure all the ponds in England had contributed to this profusion of ducks; which he took so well, that he ran immediately to an old gentleman that sate in a chair, and was feeding of 'em; he rose up very obligingly,

embraced me, and saluted me with a kiss, and invited me to dinner, telling me he was infinitely obliged to me for flattering the King's ducks.

Of the Food of the Londoners.

THE diet of the Londoners consists chiefly of bread and meat, which they use instead of herbs. Bread is there as in Paris, finer and courser according as they take out the bran. This I observed, that whereas we have a great deal of cabbage, and but a little bit of meat, they will have monstrous pieces of beef. I think they call 'em rumps, and buttocks, with a few carrots that stand at a distance as if they were frighted; nay, I have seen a thing they call a sirloin, without any herbs at all, so immense, that a French footman would scarce set it upon the table. They use very white salt, notwithstanding I told 'em the gray salt of France is *incomparably better and more wholesome;* the common people feed much upon grey pease, of which there are great provisions made, and to be had ready boiled. I believe they delight in 'em most for supper; for every night there goes by a woman crying hot grey pease, and bacon. Though I take pease to be too windy for supper meat, and am inclinable to believe that hot ox cheek and bak'd wardens cried out at the same time may be wholsomer. Their roots differ much from our's: there are no long turnips, but round ones. Hackney, near London, is

famous for this most excellent sort; they are most excellent with br'iled and stewed mutton, and sometimes with stewed beef. I found more cabbage in London than I expected, and saw a great many reserves of old stalks in their publick gardens. I asked the reason; I was told the English were fantastick, as to herbs and pulse; that one trade, or society of men, fancied them and cowcumbers, and that a whole country were as much admirers of bacon and beans; and this they thought might be the reason of it. Lettice is the great and universal sallet; but I did not find much Roman lettice, because about ten years ago, a gentleman sending his footman to market, he mistook and asked for *papist lettice*, and the ill name has hindered the vent of it ever since. There are several others in the herb market, as mint, sorrel, parsley, very much used with chickens, white beets, red beets and asparagus: these they tie up in bundles, and impose so far as not to sell under a hundred at a time. This city is well served with carp, herrings, cod, sprats, lobstors, and mackarel; of which there are such incredible quantities, that there is publick allowance for mackarel as well as milk to be cried on Sundays. Being desirous to see the markets, I had a friend that one morning carried me to Leaden-hall. I desired to know what mushrooms they had in the market. I found but few, at which I was surprised, for I have all my life been very curious and inquisitive about this kind of plant; but I was absolutely astonish'd to find, as that for champignons and moriglios they were

as great strangers to 'em as if they had been bred in Japan. He promised to carry me to the Flesh Market, and then to make me amends; but when I came there, alas! there was a thousand times too much of it to be good; the sight of such a quantity was enough to surfeit one. I verily believe in my conscience there were more oxen than cabbages, and more legs of mutton than heads of garlick, in the market. What barbarous soups, then, must these poor people eat! Their veal has not that beautiful redness which belongs to ours; and indeed their mutton seems more like it, only it is fatter; and their beef is large and fat, to that degree, that it is almost impossible to roast it dry enough for to make it fit for any Christian (that has the least of our country indisposition about him) to eat it with any safety. There were several mountains of this beef, which they called barons and chines, which they told me were for one of the sheriffs. I'll undertake, with one of these chines, together with cabbage, turnips, and other roots, herbs, and onions proportionable, to make soup enough for the Parliament of Paris. The English people, by custom, covet the freshest meat, and cannot endure the least tendency to putrefaction, which gives it a higher and salter taste. For as meat rots, it becomes more resinous and salt, which is all in all in the matter of soups. I saw but one fowl in the market that was fit to be eaten; its smell was delicious, and its colour of a beautiful green. I desired my friend to ask the price; but the poulterer told him it was sold to a French merchant. I have several things

that I might discourse of, as Kentish pippins, peas, kidney-beans, and lentils; preaching, gaming, coaching, carting, walking, sitting, standing, &c. I would likewise have given the reader tho cuts of the *nidus trochilli Anglicani*, or ween's nest, a stickleback, two snails, two grasshoppers, and those admirable coins of Cacathumpton and Goclenia; but that my bookseller said the graver was out of the way. What may be wanting in this, some other journies, that I design to the two Universities, Norwich, Bristol, Exeter, Canterbury, and other trading places, I hope will supply.

Upon reviewing my notes, I find the following remarkable things omitted in my treatise; which, that the public may not want, I have thrown into a postscript. The wines follow, and waters to drink.

Hare Court has excellent water; some people use New River, others Thames water. I told them that we had several liquors in France, as Vin de Bonne, Volné, Mulso, Chabre, Condriu, and D'Arbrais; Ratifia, otherwise called Cherry Brandy, Vattiè Fenouilet de Isle de Ree. He answered me that he had a thousand such sorts of liquors, as Humtie Dumtie, Three threads, Four threads, old Pha-raoh, Knocdown, Hugmitee, Shouldree, Clamber Crown, Hot Pots at Newgate market, Foxcomb, Blind Penneaux, Stiffle, &c. &c.

I must not omit a famous sight in Drury-lane, a place remarkable for modesty and piety: there is a sign of six dogs, that ploughed an acre of ground, which I believe may, for want of horses, be introduced into France with good effect. They have six large mastiffs, which may serve for dragoons, but will scarce fall on Protestants.

APPENDIX D.

THE FUNERAL OF M. DE MIRABEAU.

THE citizens of Paris, as if desirous to rival each other in their attachment, assembled on Monday the 4th of April, at five o'clock in the afternoon, to pay their last respects to a patriot whose memory they had already embalmed with their tears. No ceremony was ever so mournful or so majestic; the procession was as follows:—

A Detachment of National Parisian cavalry.

A Deputation of the Matrosses and Miners of the 60 Battalions; with

A Deputation of Invalids on the right and left;

M. De La Fayette;

The Field Officers of the National Guard:

A Deputation of the 60th Battalion of the National Guard, 60 deep;

The Music of the National Guard;

(The Fifes muffled, the Drums, Kettle-drums, Cymbals, and other warlike instruments, covered

with Black Crape, and playing
a Dead March.)
One Hundred Swiss Guards;
The Guards of the Prévôt;
The Clergy;
THE COFFIN,
Surmounted by a Crown of Laurel, and surrounded
by the National Guards with their
arms reversed.

(A hearse was provided for the occasion; but the soldiers of the battalion of Grange Bateliere, of which M. de Mirabeau had been colonel, insisted on the honour of carrying him to his grave, which was performed by sixteen citizen soldiers, who were relieved in rotation.)

The National Assembly,
Escorted by a Battalion of Veterans and another of
Children, dressed in the
Uniform of the National Guards;
The Electors;
The Deputies of the 48th Section;
The Department;
The Municipality;
The Judges of the Tribunals of Paris;
The Municipal Officers of neighbouring towns;
The Society of the Friends of the
Constitution;
The Ministers of State;
The Society of 1789;

The Jacobins;
A Detachment of Infantry;
and an Escort of Cavalry.

The funeral procession, marshalled in the manner above detailed, occupied a space of more than three miles, and proceeded through a double line of National Guards, and an innumerable concourse of citizens of both sexes, all of whom evinced their sense of the great calamity that had befallen the empire, with their tears. After a march of three hours, during which the most solemn silence prevailed, the procession arrived at St. Eustache. A sarcophagus was erected in the choir; all the church was hung with black. After the usual prayers, M. Cerutti ascended the tribune, and pronounced a discourse, in which he considered M. de Mirabeau as a politician and a legislator.—When recapitulating his civic virtues, and the services he had rendered to his country, not only the orator himself, but the whole audience was melted into tears! At the conclusion of his speech, the procession set out in the same order for the church of St. Genevieve. Having arrived there at midnight, they deposited the body of Honoré Gabriel Riquetti Mirabeau in the same tomb with that of the illustrious Descartes.

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